Monday 11.6.2018	
16.30-17.45	**KEYNOTE SESSION I (SN200) / Chair: Anna-Maija Castrén** **Petra Nordqvist: RELATIVE STRANGERS: REFLECTIONS ON FAMILIES, CONNECTIONS AND REPRODUCTIVE DONATION** Over the last decades, reproductive medicine has grown into a widespread global phenomenon. Donor conception, and so the utilisation of donated egg, sperm or embryos from a third party, plays a key role in that development. In the UK, it used to be that parents were advised to keep the use of a donor a secret but within the last decade the tide has turned against secrecy and instead openness and transparency has been written into policy. However, whereas this may be a ´done deal´ in terms of policy in this country, it is quite a different proposition to consider how the ideal of openness translates into practice within families themselves, and what openness about donor conception means for family relationships. In this talk, I reflect on findings from a UK based study that I conducted together with Prof Carol Smart 2011-2013, in which we investigated the impact of more transparency in the field of donor conception on intergenerational family relationships. In the first part of this talk I will highlight three overarching discoveries about families formed in this way that we uncovered: relating in the absence of an established social script; the complex meaning of genetic links in family lives; and the continuing significance of donor conception as years pass by. In the second part of this talk, I draw on our discoveries from this study to reflect on what they tell us about genes and sense-making about genetic connections more broadly. As argued by Edwards (2005), new reproductive technologies do not intrinsically transgress ideas of family or produce ´new´ ideas; rather they intensify existing ideas and make explicit that which is usually implicit. In this second part of the talk, I thus no longer seek to focus the gaze on the departure from the norm - the family formed through donor conception - but rather use such a departure as a starting point to explore the shadow-y background of normality that underscores every aspect of how reproductive technologies are utilised, experienced and made sense of. I explore how values, perceptions, assumptions and ideas embedded in the discourse of being genetically related translate into morals, practices, modes of being, habits and relationalities within everyday family living. Ultimately, I suggest that ´genetic thinking´ plays a salient role in contemporary family life.
17.45-19.00	**Session 1 (SN200) / Chair: Detlev Lück** MAKING FAMILIES: REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGY AND PRACTICES
	Deborah Dempsey, Briony Horsfall & Fiona Kelly: Statements of Reasons: What motivates applications to the Victorian donor registers? Approximately 60,000 Australians have been conceived with donated sperm, ova or embryos, most at a time when donations were anonymous. Over time, it has become increasingly accepted that knowledge of genetic origins may be critical to one's sense of identity and important for a range of reasons related to health and well-being. Donor linking, whereby donor-conceived people, donors and recipient parents access each other's identity, is a recent and controversial legislative and policy response to concerns about the well-being of donor conceived children and adults. In Victoria, Australia, the Assisted Reproductive Treatment Act 2008 (Vic) enables donor conceived people, parents of donor conceived people, donors and descendants of donor conceived people to apply to Central and Voluntary Registers for each other's identifying and non-identifying information. The Victorian Assisted Reproductive Treatment Authority (VARTA) has responsibility for managing these registers including the process through which donor-conceived people, recipient parents and donors apply for identifying information about genetically related parties. Since June 2015, applicants for donor linking through VARTA have completed a Statement of Reasons (SOR) as prescribed under the Assisted Reproductive Treatment Act (2008). The SOR can be prepared by the applicant alone or with the guidance of VARTA counsellors. Information provided to applicants explains that the SOR is designed to provide "some introductory information about yourself, your motivation for applying, and your hopes about possible future contact (if this is what you wish)". This study aimed to describe applicants' motivations and expectations, as revealed in their SOR. Ethics approval for the project was obtained through the Victorian Department of Health and Human Services, La Trobe and Swinburne Universities. Permission was sought from people who completed a SOR between June 2015 and March 2017 for their anonymized SOR to be used in research. The research sample and SOR data were recorded in de-identified format and analysed using Microsoft Excel and Nvivo software. The Nvivo

analyses permitted counts of the number of SOR applications where a specific theme was raised (i.e., per source) and the number of times the theme occurred within all sources (i.e., the number of references to that theme) along with qualitative, thematic analysis. This enabled both the proportion of SORs with a theme to be identified as well as the strength and various nuances of the theme throughout the applications. Of the 91 applicants who completed SORs in the timeframe, 42 (45%) agreed to participate. Recipient parents were the largest category in the research sample, followed by adult donor-conceived people. Of the recipient parent participants, most were single mothers and most had applied to both the Central and Voluntary Registers when their children were 6 years old or under. Reasons for applying included: a desire for knowledge about medical history, and a desire for knowledge of the donor's physical traits, family history and personality. Wanting to get a sense of who the donor was as a person, or more holistically was a more predominant theme among recipient parents than wanting to know family medical history or information about other more impersonal traits. A desire for medical information was a stronger motivation for applying for the donor conceived group. A desire to meet the other party was sometimes a short-term goal, and it was a commonly stated long-term goal among applicants, with donors more circumspect about contact than the other groups. We discuss the implications of our findings for donor conception law and policy internationally, particularly the strong desire for contact expressed by research participants. In our paper, we will also explore how our research findings shed light on popular understandings of genetic inheritance.

Lise Eriksson: The dynamics of surrogacy families in Finland: relationships between parents, children and surrogate mothers

In public debates and policy documents on surrogate motherhood, children born through surrogacy often represent the unknown future. Policy reports and public debates on surrogacy often refer to the best interests of the child, which is an open concept that can be filled with different meanings. However, since there are few studies on children born through surrogacy, the dynamics of surrogacy families is somewhat unknown. This paper will discuss surrogacy families in Finland. The paper will analyse how intended parents and surrogate mothers describe the relationships between the parents, children and surrogate mothers. The paper will also analyse how the parents discuss disclosure, i.e. if/how they intend telling their child, or how they have already told their child about the surrogacy arrangement. Some surrogacy arrangements include donor gametes, which sometimes is revealed to the child on another occasion. The study focuses on experiences of surrogacy arrangements in Finland, where altruistic surrogacy was practiced at four clinics on medical grounds for heterosexual couples from the early 1990s until 2007. Since 2007, surrogacy is no longer permitted through the Act on Assisted Reproduction. The Finnish case of surrogacy is above all an example of the under-examined issue of altruistic, un-paid surrogacy. The altruistic surrogacy arrangements in Finland involved a family member, relative or friend as the surrogate mother, who often has a central role in the child's life. The study includes six interviews with Finnish altruistic surrogate mothers and ten interviews with twelve Finnish intended parents. Thus, the total amount of respondents is eighteen. Most interviewees have experience of un-paid altruistic arrangements, while some have travelled abroad for commercial arrangements when surrogacy no longer was permitted in Finland. All interviews were semi-structured and conducted in 2017.

Cornelia Schadler: Don't believe what they say: Defining family as a boundary making practice

Within the past few decades, the definition "family" has come to include diverse living arrangements and the notion of "family member" has been extended to animals or even artefacts. Simultaneously, traditional definitions of family persist and remain a powerful structure. So how should family scholars define family? The scholarly discussion of family definitions so far focused strongly on structural definitions (legal or statistical definitions) or individual definitions (self-descriptions in interviews). Research on doing family or family practices focused on how family members establish the meaning family through their actions. I propose a fourth strategy that foregrounds activity instead of meaning: Defining family by material-discursive practices and as a consequence defining family by actions instead of defining it by family members. In a recently finished research project I investigated a broad variety of families (non-monogamous relationships, couples, nuclear Families, Humans with pets, nomads, singles, room- and workmates). I observed family practices and interviewed family members. Within these various forms of relationships I searched for practices that define the boundaries of family. I found rather similar practices, but the self-descriptions of the family members differ. In my talk I will give a few examples of activities I found across (seemingly) different cases, such as this one: Two adults live with a child. In the morning another grown up, who is living next door, joins them and helps with the care for the child. The joint breakfast, their collective care for the child and their shared plans for the day and future define them as a family. I found this practice in two cases that define themselves very different: one formation defines itself as a polyamorous network and all three grown ups define themselves as parents of the child. In the second case two grown ups define themselves as nuclear family and the third grown up as an aunt that helps out. So, if we ask for a self-definition both families would answer differently. If we look at structural definitions, the first case would not be recognized as a family and in the second case only the carework of the mother and the father would be visible. However, both cases are part of the same practices. I show that a glance at practices includes a great variety of different forms of living without the need to categorize them as specific forms of family. Unlike current definitions of family, this approach does not overlook humans and animals and things that

structure family live.   The empirical aim of this explorative project was to document the practices that define togetherness and family across a great variety of cases. For scholars this research provides a definition of family as a sequence of boundary making practices. A specific set of practices would define family: everybody and everything who is part of that practice is a family. The consequence is that from this perspective we don't have to define family by specific members and we do not have to define names for specific forms of family, but a list of practices includes a broad variety of private living.

Tuesday 12.6.2018

9.20-11.00	**Session 2a (SN202) / Chair: Pedro Romero-Balsas** PARENTING IN DIVERSE FAMILY CONTEXTS

Ewa Maciejewska-Mroczek: Between intimate experience and state intervention. Narratives of Polish prospective adoptive parents

In the last decade, each year over 3000 children were adopted in Poland. This means that several thousands of people every year become somehow involved in the process of adoption. Yet, the research about it is limited in Poland. This paper is based on the thematic analysis of Internet communication of prospective adoptive parents, who gather in the forum run by the Association for Infertility Treatment and Adoption Support Our Stork, the biggest European forum for those affected by unwanted childlessness (whose number is currently about 98 thousand users). I have analyzed discussions concerning adoption, which took place in 2016 and 2017. I focused on the candidates – people who are in the process, between applying to adoption center and the moment of legal adoption. This is a very fragile period in the history of a family, when hopes, desires, and plans are confronted with the requirements of adoptive system, run by the state and performed by the representatives of institutions. In Poland in 2015 a new, far-right government of Law and Justice took power. The new government's policy is based on a certain vision of the family: referring to an idealized concept of traditional family and strenghtening the role of biological ties. According to parents who took part in the forum discussions, there is a connection between the new state policy regarding family, and the current shape of adoptive system. They observe, on the one hand, reluctance of the state's representatives in intervening into family life (even in case of child neglect or abuse), and on the other hand, some attempts to diminish adoptions. These new problems add up to the difficulties, which are typical to the adoption process in general, such as the necessity of undergoing rigorous check and training procedures. Being in a very fragile situation, future parents regard the state and its representatives as those who should be helpful, but not always are.

Heidi Ruohio: Searching for Identity and Hoping for a Relationship - Finnish Transnational Adoptees' Interest in Searching for Biological Relatives

"To search or not to search" is probably one of the most emotional and personal decisions that (transnational) adoptees have to make. Although ties between the adopted child and his or her biological parents are not valid before the law (Duncan 1993), previous research shows quite clearly that both adoptees and their biological parents are often interested in each other's (e.g. Tieman et al. 2013; Yngvesson 2010; Högbacka 2016).   In this paper, I ask how Finnish adult age transnational adoptees (have) come into a decision whether to search or not, and if they are (interested in) searching and have pursued this goal, what has been the motivator to do so? I draw mainly on parts of my PhD research (Ruohio 2016). The data consists of 24 interviews conducted with adult-age transnational adoptees during years 2009–2010. My choice to concentrate on adult-age adoptees is both an ethical choice with which I take part in a paradigm in adoption studies that tries to grasp some of the "long-term impacts" of adoption and a methodological choice that sees meanings of origin as changing depending on life phase. Based on their research on previous empirical adoption studies, Ulrich Müller and Barbara Perry (2001) have found three different theoretical models that are utilized in adoption studies to explain adoptees' interest in searching. All these models have (had) their influence on adoption politics and the way adoptive families have been advised throughout the years on the issue of searching. In the model of psychopathology, searching is understood as a consequence of maladjustment and malfunctioning of the adoptive family. In the normative model, searching is understood as a developmental task that is part of a normative process of growing up. The third model, which also serves as my own viewpoint in this paper, is called social-interactionist framework. According to this framework, searching needs to be understood as intertwined to norms and expectations of the society, not just in as an individual-driven need or not because of the adoptive family's functioning. In addition, I utilize Margaret Archer's (2012) critical realist theory of agency. Archer's understanding of internal conversation as a mediator between agency and structure sheds light on the reflexive process of decision making involved in transnational adoptees' actions towards searching. In accordance with previous research, also Finnish transnational adoptees were mostly interested in their biological mothers. This has to do with gendered roles of child bearing and rearing. Interviewees emphasized the role of the biological mother as the ultimate (more or less active) decision maker of their adoption. In addition, searching for one's biological mother is much more realistic than searching biological father, since very few had the names of their biological fathers. Consequently, finding one's biological mother is the possible key to possibly find other biological relatives.   When I asked my interviewees what was the thing they were curious about in their biological relatives, the answer was

always "how do they look like". The physical body might become a symbol of otherness and of the unkown since it is the place that carries physical features (March 2000). One woman wondered "whose nose do I have?". Her nose is (metaphorically) not just her own, instead it belongs to somebody else as well. A physical feature has (biological) roots of its own. Although interest in biological parents was quite common among interviewees, concrete actions of searching were not. I named seven of my 24 interviewees as "searchers" since they had proceeded in searching or had serious plans to do so in the near future. The foremost goal of searchers was to fill information about themselves: to "search for self or identity" as many of them stated. To build a relationship with biological relatives was a secondary goal. This shows that searching for biological relatives is not simply about searching for some people, but something more abstract. According to my research, searching needs to be understood as a process and as a continuum where you can move in both directions in different life phases. Actions of searching are carefully pondered from the viewpoints of all the members of the adoption triad: the adopted individual's own interest and possible reactions as well as adoptive parents' and biological parents'. As one interviewee stated, after searching and finding biological relatives, there is no turning back. After a possible reunion, one might have two sets of parents and siblings in several countries. Searchers' understanding about family was more inclusive than non-searchers', and in addition, they found searching so important for themselves that they were ready to face the possible disappointments that they might have to face during the process.

Marja Leena Böök, Johanna Terävä & Ulrike Zartler: Post-divorce coparenting: the views of family professionals

The divorce rate has remained at the same level for over 20 years in Finland, with just under one-half of first marriages ending in divorce (OSF2015). Divorce creates new dynamics in the parental relationship and family relations and may also create a more complex family form in which parents may be challenged by the task of constructing a new mother or father role. Post-divorce coparenting involves parental decisions on, e.g., their child's education, health care and social activities. At it best, coparenting is "an enterprise undertaken by two or more adults working together to raise a child for whom they share responsibility" (Hock & Mooradian 2013). Therefore, coparenting involves at least a minimum of inter-parental communication. Moreover, coparenting is not static, and may vary across the context (Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan 2015). Coparenting interventions have been shown, e.g., to increase father involvement (Fagan 2008), enhance coparenting quality in post-divorce families (Cookston et. al. 2007) and reduce parent conflict and parent-child relationship distress (Feinberg & Kan 2008). However, Beckmeyer, Coleman and Ganong (2014) ask whether, even in cases where coparenting is limited, divorcing parents are able to rear children effectively. They argue that children's well-being may depend more on parent-child relationship quality and parents' individual parenting skills, and suggest that educators and professionals should focus on helping parents to enact effective childrearing behaviors. It has been argued that the prevailing parenting ideology emphasizes the biological heterosexual nuclear family as the optimal family structure for raising children. This ideology has also informed most studies on the effects of divorce over recent decades (Boney 2003). Moreover, although post-divorce coparenting has been investigated in several intervention studies (e.g. Ferraro et al. 2016), knowledge on post-divorce coparenting from the family professionals' perspectives is limited. We address this research gap and focus on the questions: How do family professionals construct post-divorce coparenting and what ideals underlie their work with divorced parents? The preliminary findings of this presentation are based on nine thematic group discussions with 34 family professionals (33 female and 1 male) conducted in spring and autumn 2017. The respondents were participants in a "Parenthood after divorce" training program organized by the Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters (FMCHS; in Finnish Ensi- ja turvakotien liitto), one of the largest national child welfare NGOs in Finland that help children and families in difficult and insecure life situations. The training comprised eight meetings, and the group interviews were conducted during the second meeting by family practitioners working for FMCHS, with pre-selected themes developed by the researchers. A key theme was professionals' images and concepts of coparenting after parental separation. The study is constructionist in orientation and utilizes qualitative content and discursive analyses. Preliminary results suggest that coparenting is mainly conceptualized in the context of the nuclear family and that practitioners do not see space for possible new spouses. Furthermore, the discourse of "the best interests of the child" seems to have a prominent place in the group discussions. References Beckmeyer, J. J., Coleman, M. & Ganong, L. H. 2014. Postdivorce coparenting typologies and children's adjustment. Family Relations 63, 4, 526 – 527. Boney, V. M. 2003. Alternative research perspectives for studying the effects of parental divorce. Marriage & Family Review 35, 1, 7–27. Cookston, J.T., Braver, S.L, Griffin, W.A., De Luse, S.R. & Miles, J. C. (2007) Effects of the Dads for Life intervention on interparental conflict and coparenting in the two years after divorce. Family Process 46 (1), 123–137. Fagan, J. 2008. Randomized study of a prebirth coparenting intervention with adolescent and young fathers. Family Relations 57 (3), 309–323. Feinberg, M. E. & Kan, M. L. 2008. Establishing family foundations: intervention effects on coparenting, parent/infant well-being, and parent-child relations. Journal of Family psychology, 22 (2), 253–263 Ferraro, A.J., Malespin, T., Oehme, K., Bruker, M. & Opel, A. 2016. Advancing co-parenting education: toward a foundation for supporting positive post-divorce adjustment. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal 33, 407–415. Hock, R. M, & Mooradian, J.K. 2013. Defining coparenting for social work practice: a critical interpretive synthesis. Journal of Family Social Work 16, 314–331. Kotila, L.E. & Schoppe-Sullivan, S.J. 2015.

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Alice Zanchettin: After the couple's break up: still remaining fathers

Theoretical frame International as well as national research reveal how separation and divorce are events that can impact dramatically on family life trajectories: parents, children, families of origin and family networks are involved in such event. The separation/divorce is an event that involves all the family members and it makes necessary to redefine and reorganize not only the daily and the relationships but also the identity of the people. This because even if there isn't any more the couple relationship, mothers and fathers still remain parents, and this, redefining and reorganizing themselves as parents, is one of the new tasks for them, the most important one. In this context, the present research will focus on the consequences of father's lives, relationships and fathering practices after divorce in Italy, where this is a relatively under-investigated topic, because generally research has mainly considered the changes of mother' conditions. Some evidences from the Italian context suggest that many divorced fathers are at risk of social exclusion: they, for instance, use social canteen for meals and co-housing or social projects in order to prevent homelessness. Social exclusion regards also poor family relationships. This reveals how important is to consider divorce consequences in terms of both material and relational well-being, because marginalized fathers are at risk of becoming "absent" fathers. For this reason, policy makers promote initiatives dedicated to support fathering practices and co-parenting task after divorce, such as co-housing and social projects. The divorce consequences on fatherhood as well as the social and economic conditions of these fathers assume that a deeply change on their identity is going on. Research question The main research question addressed is about the identity of such fathers who have to redefine and re-organize their daily and relationships, with particular attention to the father-child relationship. Data The present study is a qualitative research that considers data coming from 40 in-depth narrative interviews to fathers who live in co-housing and social projects all over Italy. Interviews are focused on personal experience of divorce, actual family and social relationships and living conditions and how these poor conditions affect their role as fathers. Methodology 40 separated/divorced fathers, aged between 35 – 65, all with children and recruited by social co-housing projects all over Italy have participated to the research. The interviews are constituted by two parts: first an in-depth narrative interview in which fathers can tell their personal experience about divorce consequences regarding house, job and their daily life. Second, it is proposed to fathers a map of their relational network and some questions using social network analysis due to better understand their relational context, with particular attention to the role played by the social network in helping them facing the consequences of divorce (what kind of support they receive from their network). Qualitative data are analyzed with N-Vivo software. Research findings The preliminary findings suggest that we can observe a multidimensional framework that characterizes these fathers: there is a relational poverty that affects them, because of unstable living and working conditions, economic resources and poor social relationships. In considering divorce consequences it is important to include both material and relational well-being after divorce, due to prevent the risk that marginalized fathers become "absent" fathers. All the dimensions involved impact on fatherhood and on the redefinition and reorganization of father's identity. These results are in line with the research literature on fatherhood that outlines the changes of contemporary fathers, who are not only considered as the breadwinner, but also as a caring parental figure. These preliminary findings suggest that the re-organization and re-definition of fatherhood deal with a structural dimension as well as with a cultural and relational dimension.

Session 2b (SN203) / Chair: Anna-Maija Castrén
SOCIAL NETWORKS, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND FAMILY BOUNDARIES

Elisabetta Carrà & Matteo Moscatelli: Family social capital as a key dimension for understanding the "family": a quantitative survey in Northern Italy

In contemporary society, an individualistic and destabilizing orientation seems to prevail and a consequent erosion of the social bond that is increasingly unstable and "liquid" (Bauman, 2002). In order to regenerate relations with their bases of trust, reciprocity and cooperativity, a renewed interest is being developed for the concept of social capital, that is for that reliable and cooperative social fabric whose presence is predictive of the good functioning of all social subsystems, including that of the family and its life cycle. The notion of social capital in the literature appears extremely variable (Putnam, 1993, Bourdieu, 1980, Coleman, 1988, Fukuyama, 2005), oscillating between micro, meso and macro levels in a constant dialectic between individual and structure. Recent research aims to understand how this concept can play a role in the morphogenetic processes of social groups and structures (Colozzi, Donati, 2006; Donati, 2007; Donati, Tronca, 2008) and how it is relevant for the wellbeing and quality of family life (Bramanti, 2015; Carrà, 2008; Carrà, 2016; Carrà; 2017) and in social work for and with families (Carrà, 2008; Maci, 2011, Moscatelli, 2013). In this research we analyze family social capital from a relational perspective, which considers it a property of the relationship characterized by the presence of three key factors identified in the literature: trust, reciprocity and cooperative orientation (Donati, 2007; Mutti , 1998, Dǘrrschmidt et al.2010). These three dimensions were considered on two levels (intra-family, with a bonding function, the 'core' family social capital and the family-community one, with bridging function related to the extended network), using scales built ad hoc, validated through

this research. Furthermore, some synthetic indexes have been identified, which are particularly useful in the analysis of social contexts, as they are easily understandable and highly comparable. The analysis of the social capital was carried out on families with children (3-13 years) enrolled in primary and secondary schools of first grade, located in a suburban context with problematic traits of Novara, a city of North-Italy, within a community development project. The survey was attended by 382 families with children and the mothers filled the questionnaire in 66% of cases. These are families with 2.15 children on average, in which the parents are aged between 36 and 50, 50% have double income and in 15% of other nationalities. The results highlight a tendential isolation and a fairly limited support network (about 1/3 of the sample frequents 1 or 2 families and 11% is de facto isolated). There emerges a certain gap between family social capital, generally medium-high, and that of the extended network, which stands at lower levels. With regard to this second level of social capital, a high degree of trust and reciprocity are only traced back to 16% of households. Community and social participation is also low. Emerges a picture of a community not yet fully able to relate to the current welfare dynamics, where a better response to problems comes from the activation of citizens and the quality of their proximal networks. The statistically significant cross between the social capital indexes and the declared well-being index (including relationships, life, work, economic resources, health) shows that those with high social capital are also characterized by a higher level of satisfaction, confirming that social capital can be considered a predictor of well-being of the family and its members (Edwards et al, 2003; McPerson et al, 2013; Parcel & Bixby, 2016; Alvarez et al, 2017). Logistical regressions carried out in this sample do not show any further variables related to family social capital apart from the extent of the network of families.

Kirsti Suoranta: Social Networks of Older Finnish Men Living Alone

Questions of well-being have become acute in late modern societies where living alone is increasing, and simultaneously people are expected to live at home until late old age. In Finland, living alone has increased especially among older men, but not much is known about how they experience living alone and what kinds of social worlds they live in. In this presentation, I outline preliminary findings of my phD study examining the social networks of men born in the 1950's who live alone in the greater Helsinki area. In Northern Europe, living alone is more common than anywhere else. Finland comes second after Sweden in the statistics (Therborn, 2004; Jamieson & Simpson, 2013). One important trend is the rise of older men living alone which is especially clear in the Helsinki region. Nearly 30 percent of men between 55 and 64 live alone in Helsinki, and the proportion has increased by 50 percent in ten years (Borg & Keskinen, 2016). Finnish people living alone have more contacts with friends and family outside the household and consider trusting relationships more important than people living with somebody (Borg, 2016a & 2016b). When it comes to well-being, there are differences between those who live alone and those who live with someone, and also between men and women. Especially among Finnish men, living alone is connected to economic and health-related ill-being (Kauppinen et al, 2014), loneliness (Moisio & Rämö, 2007), and dissatisfaction with life (Vaarama et al, 2014). Nearly 40 percent of Finnish men between 50 and 64 who live alone are either socially isolated or feel lonely (Väestöntutkimuslaitos/Population Research Institute, 2017a). Biographical events and personal meanings play a large part in how people experience living alone. Disruptive life events, such as divorce, bereavement or estrangement from children, increase feelings of loneliness in old age (Tiilikainen, 2016; Hughes, 2016). Finnish single men who wish for a couple relationship are more lonely and have more psychosomatic symptoms than single men who don't want a relationship (Kinnunen & Kontula, 2018). On the other hand, not all people want to inhabit dense social worlds. In the age group 50-64 of Finnish men living alone who have contacts with friends or family only rarely, more than two thirds do not feel lonely (Väestöntutkimuslaitos/Population Research Institute, 2017a). The most important theoretical concepts of the study are chosen families (Weston, 1991; Weeks, 2001), personal communities (Pahl & Spencer, 2004a & 2004b), and networked individualism (Wellman et al 2006). They all conceptualise social bonds open-endedly and fluidly, not within predisposed categories such as friendship or family. The idea of chosen families refers originally to the groups of important, emotionally close friends of gays and lesbians. The concept of personal community underlines the mixing up of kinship ties as given and friendship ties as chosen social bonds. Instead, depending on the personal meanings of the ties, both family and friends can feel obligating or chosen. Networked individualism sheds light on how the internet and mobile phones have strengthened the phenomenon of individuals becoming the basic units of social bonds and interaction instead of groups (e.g. households, workplaces or neighbourhoods). My phD study analyses the dynamics of social networks of older men in light of their biographies and the meanings they give to different life events, and in light of collective discourses shaping the way we think of human relationships in the first place. This presentation focuses on how the social networks of the interviewees have taken shape during their life histories. How do important factors, such as never marrying, divorcing, childlessness, sexual orientation, employment, or moving, regulate the networks? My data consists of qualitative network data and interviews collected from men living in the Helsinki area. The estimated amount of interviews is 15 (of 30-40 in total) by the time of the conference. The network data is recorded on special forms during the interviews using so called name generator questions (see Castrén, 2009). Methodologically I draw firstly from qualitative figurational network analysis (see Castrén & Kuurne, 2015) inspired by the ideas of Norbert Elias. According to Elias (e.g. 1978), societies are made up of constantly moving networks of mutually bonded individuals. Elias emphasises the social nature of the self and the fact that the ties between people are not dyadic but

regulated by the figurational logic of social relations. Secondly, I employ discourse analysis to shed light on the personal and collective meanings the interviewees use. This two-fold methodology enables the researcher to analyse the complex dynamics of the networks not necessarily seen by the interviewees, as well as collective meanings within which it is possible to talk of intimate ties.

Theresa Manderscheid: Family constructions and Polyamory: A qualitative social network analysis of the family

Polyamory is a relationship style as to which people (of all genders) choose to (have the possibility of) consensually engage(-ing) in (often long-term) romantic relationships with more than one sexual, romantic and/or affective partner (Sheff 2011: 488). Although still widely unknown, the representation of polyamory in the media is growing. At the same time, there has yet been little scientific research on polyamory. With my research I want to fill this gap and take relationships under consideration which go beyond the monogamous-dyadic structures of couples and traditional two-person-marriages. In this context, I focus especially on family concepts and constructs emerging from and within these arrangements. My research is a dissertation project in sociology, framed within qualitative social network analysis and the sociology of the family. I use a variation of methods to understand the concept of polyamory and the family-lives in poly constructs: Qualitative, narrative-generating interviews with an "active" approach (Holstein/Gubrium 2004) with families and single people with the goal of discussing their family concepts, their approaches to them and their perspectives on them. In addition, the families are asked to visualize their families through hand-drawn and/or crafted network pictures (i.e. Gamper/Schönhuth 2016). The interviews are audio-visually recorded in order to interpret the processes of sense-making within the group during the interview. Family is therefore represented as a negotiation process in reference to family and identity discourses and not as a static concept. Beyond the subjective perspective of families or family members, I'm doing ethnographic research in polyamorous communities for the purpose of understanding the language and the specific discourses prevailing around non-monogamous and particularly polyamorous identities and life-styles. My research therefore combines a qualitative network approach with family constellations and discursive deliberations of constructing a family and/within a polyamorous identity. The analysis of the data is oriented on the qualitative structural analysis as proposed by Herz/Peters/Truschkat (2015). In this approach the network maps (or pictures – depending on the standardization), the narrations and narratives of the interviews are combined through sensitizing concepts with a special focus on structural analysis as practiced in social network analysis. So far the data suggests a variation of insights into the making, presenting and defining of the (polyamorous) family: On the one hand, family is viewed as a concept that is no longer determined by biological interpretations but as a kinship structure that is (more or less) actively designed or arranged (i. e. chosen kinship). On the other hand, a biological notion remains, though it's determinism is reversed into a reflective process. Parenthood and other kinship concepts are therefore no longer based on biological implications and can be (re-)constructed through an interactive meaning-making process, but are still strongly shaped and framed by the normative patterns of a biological family. In contrast to other contexts (i. e. in gay families), multi-parenting is not a way to biological kinship but rather a wish or perceived necessity stemming from the romantic or affective entanglements (i. e. of the potential parents). Thus 'biology' is still used as a tool to parenthood but is now in its interpretation-process part of a set of various possibilities and options of family-making. Also, not only the tension between allegedly biological determinisms and social concepts regarding parenthood need a reflective process as well as a discursive and biographical (re-)framing. New kinship types between parents, partner-structures and siblings that arise need (re-)defining, too: Where is the line between friendship and family? Is family a concept that needs mutual consideration when there's no normative/biological social definition/example for it (like biological parenthood, sisters, brother-in-law etc.)? Or can it be one sided? Is there a moment of not-choosing in chosen kinship structures? The data suggests there are some tensions that cannot be resolved without a radical transformation of the perception and the definition of family. Through the qualitative social network analysis approach, the uniqueness, complexity and fluidity of the specific relations can be reconstructed. Therefore, the empirical research of these polyamorous partnerships and family structures can bring interesting insights into contemporary concepts, practices and interpretations of 'the' family. Gamper, Markus / Schönhuth, Michael (2016): Ansätze und Verfahren der Visuellen Netzwerkforschung. In: Lobinger, K. (Hrsg.): Handbuch Visuelle Kommunikationsforschung. Wiesbaden: Springer, S. 1-27. Herz, Andreas; Peters, Luisa; Truschkat, Inga (2015): How to do qualitative structural analysis: The qualitative interpretation of network maps in narrative interviews. In: FQS, Vol. 16(1), Art. 9. Holstein, James A. / Gubrium, Jaber F. (2004): The Active Interview. In: Silverman, D. (Hrsg.): Qualitative Research. Theory, Method and Practice. London: Sage, S. 140-161. 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Olga Ganjour, Jacques-Antoine Gauthier, Gil Viry & Eric Widmer: Influence of residential mobility trajectories on the presence of family in the composition of personal networks

The increase of residential mobility in globalised societies raises series of questions regarding the presence of family members in the composition of personal network and as well as a change of structure of personal network due to spatial distribution of significant alters. In particular, do the individuals who moved away from their place of birth maintain relationships with their remote parents, relatives and old friends or do they develop new close-by

relationships? How personal network structure is changed due to residential mobility? In stable social settings, the family plays an important role as a major mediator of social integration and social control (Elias, 1991). Hence, we can suppose that this role is less salient in case of residential mobility. This is predominantly due to the spatial dispersion of kin members, which is associated with lower frequency of contact with them. However, previous studies confirm that mobile individuals stay in touch with parents and children (Johnson, 2000). Residential mobility can also reinforce the ties within the nuclear family due to greater reliance on the partner or unequal gender roles when one partner follows the other when mobility is career based (Bott, 1971; Mulder & Cooke, 2009). At the same time, residential mobility is associated with the creation of specific types of ties, such as friendship or colleagueship (Belot & Ermisch, 2006; Cronin, 2015). Finally, residential mobility can also favor the lack of sociability. The link between residential mobility - in particular when associated with migration - and the composition of personal network has been addressed in previous studies (Lubbers et al., 2010; Ryan et al., 2008; Viry 2012, Viry et al., 2017). However, from our prospective the geographical distance between ego et her/his network members has not been taken into account yet in the construction of the composition of personal network. We hypothesize that residential mobility tends to create specific network patterns such as "distant parents" or "close friends" in which family and friendships ties are influenced by geographical distance. In this study we use data from the Family tiMes survey collected in 2011, which includes 803 individuals from two birth cohorts (1950-55 and 1970-75) living in Switzerland. Our study combines two methods: sequence analysis and ego-centred network analysis. Firstly, focussing on the composition of networks, we run a factor analysis (principal component method) on the items measuring the average geographical distance between ego and her/his significant alters. We then imputed the factor scores in a cluster analysis in order to build a typology, which combined close and distant ties. Logistic regressions are used to assess the ways in which the types of the composition of personal network based on ego-alter distance are related to respondents' residential trajectories, from birth to the year of the interview. Results show that highly mobile individuals who settled down far from their place of birth have more socially diverse and spatially dispersed network configurations than individuals who stayed close to their place of origin. Mobile individual are more likely to keep significant relationships with distant parents, children, siblings and some kinship members, particularly with cousins, uncles or aunts. Conversely, they are more likely to create social ties with spatially close friends and colleagues. The spatial dispersion of network members impacts the network structure by producing lowdensity configurations of interactions with parents and low emotional support configurations with children, parents, sibling and kinship members. The individuals who maintain ties with distant kinship members occupy a more central position in their networks, while the individuals who maintain ties with distant parents and children occupy a less central position. The individuals who maintain ties with distant kinship members are embedded in less transitive connections than individuals who maintain ties with close relatives. Family members are less represented in the composition of personal network of mobile individuals than in the composition of settled individuals.

| 11.20-12.35 | **Session 3a (SN202) / Chair: Jacques-Antoine Gauthier**
PARENTING AND FAMILY DIVERSITY |

Bertrand Geay, Pierig Humeau & Emilie Spruyt: Parenting practices of lesbian and gay parents as responses to normative pressure. First results from three longitudinal studies

Lesbian and gay families are at the core of social debates, especially those over filiation and cross-generational transmission, in many countries. Yet rather than rely on knowledge about them, policymakers or activists often rely instead on assumptions about "the" family or on gay and lesbian parents' wishes and practices (Faircloth, Hoffman, Layne, 2013). Empirical analysis about the functioning of these families and their educational practices is thus important for filling that gap. We contribute to this work by drawing on the first results of three recent French longitudinal studies on family life. In tandem with the French national birth cohort study ELFE, which follows 18,000 families with at least one child born in 2011, we launched a parallel project (DEVHOM) studying 150 families with lesbian and gay parents with children born in the same year. Our survey questions were identical to those of ELFE and administered at the same time, making them comparable. We conducted further qualitative work in a third longitudinal study called Génération 2011 with observations and interviews with 50 families (headed by same and different-sex couples) in order to better understand the parenting philosophy of different types of parents as well as their parenting and care practices. Earlier scholarship, conducted primarily in North America, the UK, and the Netherlands suggests that children raised by lesbian mothers have no increased problems developing friendships, confusion about their gender, or major behavioural issues. Recent studies on children raised from birth by single or partnered lesbian mothers appear to confirm these findings (Bos, 2004; Manning et al. 2014; Moore & Stambolis-Ruhstorfer 2013) as do those of the National Lesbian Longitudinal Family Study examining children from birth to adulthood in intentional lesbian families in the U.S. between 1995 and 2012 (Bos & Gartrell, 2010). Building on this work, the three longitudinal French studies enable a systematic comparison between lesbian, gay and heterosexual parents, in particular during the early stages of parenthood and child development. In this paper, we examine parents' social trajectories, values, involvement in organizations, household division of labor and care preferences. We also analyse their parenting approaches to feeding, sleeping, and other issues their children face from birth to age one. The statistical data analysis of the ELFE and DEVHOM surveys systematically compares the care and

parenting practices in the two samples relative to parents' socio-economic status and gender as well as children's gender. We first highlight that practices in gay and lesbian families are similar to those of people with the similar class backgrounds– educated middle and upper classes (Chan, Brooks, Raboy, Patterson,1998 ; Vecho, Gross, Poteat, 2011 ; Geay, Humeau, 2016). Yet they also adopt some different parenting behaviors. Specifically, relative to different-sex parents, same-sex parents take distinct approaches to feeding and generally encourage and pay more attention to their children's cognitive development. This difference may be due to the higher level of normative pressure same-sex couples feel and their efforts to dispel doubts about their capacity to parent. The data of the qualitative study bring to light the tensions and adaptations that mark the process of care and the construction of parenting practices across family types.

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Rita Gouveia: Attitudes towards parental rights and competences of lesbians and gay men in Portugal

The lay understandings of "what is family?" have been undergoing major changes over the last decades. Families and family meanings are built upon practices of care and commitment rather than exclusively relying on traditional principles of relatedness linked to kinship, marriage, co-residence and generational proximity. Also the heteronormative frame that has been guiding the representations of family and public policies have been gradually challenged in light of the increasing social and legal recognition of homosexual rights to cohabitation, marriage and adoption. Over the last 20 years, Portugal has been progressively recognizing individual rights of gay men and lesbians through the access to registered cohabitation (2001) and to marriage (2010), and the possibility of adoption (2016). How have these legal changes been appropriated by the Portuguese population? In which social groups do we find more resistance and, instead, what are the segments of society that are more supportive of these legal measures? The aim of this paper is to understand the attitudes towards parental rights of lesbians and gay men in Portuguese society, by identifying the main social determinants of the public support to adoption by same-sex couples, as well as the recognition of their childbearing competences. We will draw on the Portuguese data from the International Social Survey (2012), special edition of Family and Changing Gender Roles, which was carried out in Portugal in 2014 to a representative sample of 1001 individuals aged above 18 years old. If on the one hand, findings show that 45% of the individuals agree with the statement that a lesbian couple can raise a child as well as a heterosexual couple, whereas 40% agree that a gay couple can raise a child as well as a heterosexual couple. On the other hand, 43% and 47% of individuals are still against the recognition of childbearing competences of lesbian and gay man, respectively. We show that the level of agreement with parental rights of gay men and lesbians is shaped by socio-demographic factors, such as sex, education, age, conjugal situation, and parental status. But we also found that the attitudes towards the recognition homosexual parental rights and competences are anchored in a more general system of attitudes towards family life and gender roles, such as the models of the conjugal division of paid work, the role of men in childcare and household tasks, and the deinstitutionalization of marriage. These findings will add further knowledge on the cultural understandings of family and on the complexity of the processes of appropriation of legal innovations in lay knowledge.

Vaula Tuomaala & Anna-Maija Castrén: Recognizing family diversity: An analysis of mothers' subjective understandings of their newborns' family relations

The diversification of family life has been well-documented, but less is known of how this diversity is manifested in children's first family relations. This paper introduces an exploratory study, where the composition of newborn babies' first families was investigated from the perspective of unmarried Finnish mothers (N=195). An answer to the question, what newborn child's families are like, is only accessible through the parents. In our study, unmarried women who had recently given birth to a child, were requested to list their baby's family members. In Finland, besides married couples, children are born to settled and new cohabiting couples of opposite sexes, to lone mothers, couples living-apart-together, to step-families, same-sex couples and to constellations of several adults sharing the parenthood. The likelihood of reaching this manifoldness in family formation is stronger with research directed to unmarried mothers. The survey was carried out with a specific application of Family Network Method (FNM; Widmer 2010), a tool developed for researching family relations from a configurational perspective, where

respondents' personal understandings of who are their family members is focal. Particular relationships, like the relation between two spouses or between a parent and a child, are analysed as embedded in a wider web of relationships, which influence individual relationships in several ways. We analysed the lists of babies' family members with Latent Class Analysis and found four distinguishable family types. Finding such clear differences was noteworthy, as the respondents formed a rather homogeneous group according to their household constitution, age and education. The four family types, named as Kin-oriented family, Couple-centered family, Extended first time family with friends and Mother-oriented family, differed from each other in the likelihood of certain relationship terms to be included in baby's family. The main differences of family types concerned the prevalence of baby's wider kin, parents' friends, baby's step-siblings and the father in the constellations. Furthermore, the number of persons listed to baby's family as well as the background variables characterizing the respondents varied among the latent family types. The results suggest that a more comprehensive frame characterizing child's early social relations is largely missed, if only household constitution or parents' union status is considered, when analysing children's families. In our results, babies' families most often extended beyond the borders of household. In addition, mother's union status was only one of the dimensions that could be used to assess babies' family constellations. In the presentation, we will discuss the results in more detail. Additionally, we will reflect the implications of the findings vis-à-vis the discussion on the diversification of family life. What does the knowledge on subjective family understandings add to what we know of families and the diversity of family life according to population statistics? What do the diverse families look like beyond the predefined population categories and how does this information challenge some earlier studies mapping children's families? Widmer, E (2010) Family configurations. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Session 3b (SN203) / Chair: Alice Zanchettin
PARENTAL LEAVE

Sara Mazzucchelli, Luca Pesenti & M. Letizia Bosoni: A proposal to conceptualise Parental Leave within a broader framework of care-work policies

Since the early 1990s, the demand for Parental Leave, as well as for external child care facilities, has been increasing in all European countries in parallel with the influx of women into the labour market (Annesley, 2007). Although the European Union Directive on Parental Leave has obliged member states to introduce appropriate legislation, significant differences can still be found among the countries adopting this directive in relation to eligibility to leave, duration of leave, levels of payment, and flexibility in how the leave can be taken (Koslowski, Blum and Moss, 2016). We want to explore whether the traditionally used distinction (à la Esping-Andersen) to identify welfare regimes with unique and mutually exclusive characteristics helps us to adequately understand this variation in the way Parental Leave is implemented across countries. There have been limited previous efforts to take into account multiple factors of social and cultural orientation into a classification of Leave Models such as that proposed by Escobedo and Wall (2013). This presentation offers a theoretical link between the arena of welfare policies and the wider configuration of socio-economic and institutional frameworks within which the different welfare regimes are placed. The central argument is that Parental Leave policy must be conceptualised within a broader framework concerning care-work policies and cultural ideas over care tasks. In line with this conceptualisation, we propose a model based on two main analytical dimensions, proposing that social policy scholarship on Parental Leave should become integrated with a number of elements that, in a distinct manner, have been proposed by various authors in recent years in an attempt to improve the theoretical perspective on the subject. We specifically consider a "structural dimension" and a "cultural dimension". The role of culture is particularity helpful in illuminating welfare regime differences in cross-national comparisons (Pfau-Effinger 2005; Jo 2011). Of particular interest for our discussion are ideas about who is responsible for care of elderly or young people, which is the role of the state and family in care responsibility, how work and family interrelate. Thus, structural dimensions considered in the model include: leaves (maternity, paternity, parental based on parental leaven network review -Blum S., Koslowski, A. and Moss P. 2017), attendance of childcare services (0-3 years and 3-6 years), the relationship or gap between leaves and Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) entitlements, occupational welfare (% of voluntary private expenditure) and family structures (e.g. children living with two parents, divorce rate). Cultural dimensions include levels of gender inequality (Gender inequality Index) and intergenerational solidarity orientation (from European Values Study). Considering these six dimensions we focus on Eu 15 countries (Germany, France, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland and Sweden) These countries recall well-established regimes and allow comparable data providing at the same time interesting variations in terms of both broad societal context and Leave systems. By a cluster analysis on the six indicators descripted above (leaves, childcare services (0-3 years and 3-6 years), relationship/gap between leaves and ECEC, occupational welfare and family structures; inequality and intergenerational solidarity orientation) 3 groups of countries has been identified, only partially recalling E-A regimes. We could conclude that the extent to which Parental Leave enables parents (mother and/or fathers) to stay into the labour market or encourages them to withdraw is strictly related to the governance of leave policies, childcare services and their relationship/gap with leaves, occupational welfare, family in/stability, gender inequality and intergenerational solidarity orientation. These structural and cultural elements are

differently combined in each country: for example, leave policies help making the transition from paid to care work more flexible and redistribute the gendered division of care work in the home (i.e. Nordic countries and Germany) while the lack of childcare services could reinforce the role of family (Italy) or the role of VOW (UK).

Sigtona Halrynjo & Ragni Hege Kitterød: Involved fatherhood and father's parental leave: New understandings of fathers' leave among working-class and middle-class fathers

The ideal of involved fatherhood accentuates the importance of emotional father-child bonding and equal sharing of childcare and paid work between mothers and fathers (Brandt and Kvande 2003, Miller 2011). A more gender equal uptake of parental leave is believed to promote involved fatherhood and gender equality in unpaid and unpaid work. This has been one of the explicit rationales for the Norwegian fathers' quota; introduced in 1993 as four weeks non-transferable paid leave for fathers (Brandth and Kvande 2013). The fathers' quota is now ten weeks and widely supported. However, there are still some fathers who do not make use of the quota, even when they are entitled to. This paper explores how Norwegian middle- and working-class fathers who limit their use of the fathers' quota, explain their own practice and understanding of early fatherhood. The paper contributes to the discourse of classed fathering practices by questioning the established understanding of working-class versus middle-class parenthood and parental leave practices. Earlier research has concluded that the fathers' quota and the narrative of involved fatherhood and gender equal child care are understood differently among middle- and working-class fathers (Farstad and Stefansen 2015; Brandt and Kvande 2015). While middle-class fathers embrace the fathers' quota and its narrative of establishing the father as 'primary carer', working-class fathers are more prone to the role as 'secondary carer'. Our qualitative analysis is based on in-depth interviews with 12 fathers with children born in 2012-2015, eight working-class fathers and four middle-class fathers recruited on the basis that they had limited their own uptake of the fathers' quota. A surprising finding from our study is that even though the fathers had limited their own leave use, both middle- and working-class fathers express strong support for the fathers' quota more generally. In contrast to previous studies, the working-class fathers in our study give detailed accounts of how they follow the so called "middle-classed organized care pattern" (Farstad and Stefansen 2015); where the father takes his turn as primary carer until the child starts daycare. The working-class fathers emphasized that the fathers' quota is important to develop care skills and closer ties to the child and to enable the mother to meet colleagues and socialize at work. Middle-class fathers who themselves had limited their own uptake, did not emphasize the importance of the father-child relation, but argued instead that the fathers' quota should be extended and less flexible in order to create more equal opportunities in the labour market. In research and policymaking it is usually assumed that the fathers' quota implies that the father is actually away from work and takes on the main responsibility for the child. This was also how the fathers in our study spoke about it at a more general level. Our study shows however, that uptake of the fathers' quota does not necessarily mean that the fathers were absent from work and/or took the role as the primary carer for the child. Based on the dimensions of care responsibility on the one hand and absence from work on the other, we identified two main types of father practices in our study: First, "the expected fathers' leave practice", consisting of fathers, mainly working-class, who had actually been the primary carers for the child and taken time off from work. However, they were not necessarily registered as leave users, but stayed at home due to sick leave, unemployment or other reason. Second, "the traditional fathers' practice", consisting of fathers who had neither been the primary carer nor been away from work. Most of these were middle-class fathers who had taken some parental leave, but used it in ways so that they minimized job and career-related risks. These fathers also supported the principles of forced leave for fathers, involved parenting and gender equality, but still minimized their absence from work and thereby the risk of leaving important projects and clients to their colleagues. We also identified two intermediate positions, one where the fathers had actually been the primary carers, but still had not been absent from work, and one where the fathers had been absent from work, but still had not been the primary cares. However, in contrast to earlier research, this latter practice was not considered morally accepted among the working-class fathers in our study. There were no indications that the fathers' limited their parental leave use because of traditional gender-role attitudes or negative attitudes to the fathers' quota. Instead we identified two recurrent explanations: One concerning job-, income-, and career-related risks, and the other concerning problems related to complicated application procedures and lack of information about the parental leave regulations. We were surprised to find that both middle- and working-class fathers who themselves had taken advantage of the flexibility in the parental leave scheme, strongly argued that the fathers' quota should be extended and less flexible. And interestingly, where the middle-class fathers argued that a longer and less flexible quota would equalize mothers' and fathers' career-related risks, the working-class fathers stressed the importance of involved fatherhood and emotional bonding.

Gerardo Meil, Pedro Romero-Balsas & Concepción Castrillo Bustamante: Parental Leave Policy and its Translation in Spanish Companies

As in other countries, in Spain there has been a trend to extend parental leave rights to fathers, including the introduction of a paternity leave with the aim of promoting a greater involvement of fathers in childcare. In the context of the economic crisis, this trend was put to an end and the responsibility to improve gender equality in this

	field was shifted towards the social partners. This work analyzes the effectiveness of this policy, analyzing the extent and characteristics of improvements in leave provisions introduced by a sample of companies through their Gender Equality Plans and discussing to which extent they contribute to foster men´s use of leave. This paper is framed in a wider project called "Fathers on Leave alone in Spain" (CSO2013-44097-R) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Innovation. We have made a content analysis of 108 Gender Equality Plans or equivalent documents out of the 127 Companies which have been awarded with the "Gender Equality Label" by the State between 2010 and 2015. The results show that only half of the "Gender equal companies" have introduced any measures on extension of any parental leave. Out of these, only a third introduce leave to promote fathers to use a parental leave, while two thirds of them introduced gender-neutral improvements or promote mothers to use a parental leave. Therefore, when companies are entitled to improve parental leave schedule, they don't follow the national and European trend in terms of gender.
12.35-13.00	**POSTER SESSION (in the hall)** **Christoph Zangger, Sandra Gilgen & Janine Widmer:** Childcare Subsidies and Families Labor Supply Decisions: Evidence from Experimental Data Although there is an ever-growing body of research concerned with the benefits of subsidizing childcare for people's labor supply (e.g., Blau and Robins 1989; Connelly 1992; Herbst 2010; Zoch and Hondralis 2017), the simultaneous decision making for a specific childcare arrangement and a corresponding employment choice has only been studied using families' observed choices. Understanding the underlying decision-making process is, however, not only of interest to sociologists and other social scientists concerned with the impact of different childcare regimes for families and their children, but it is also of crucial concern to policy makers. Using factorial survey experiments (Auspurg and Hinz 2015), this paper examines families' labor supply behavior when facing different levels of subsidies for center-based childcare. More specifically, we evaluate to what extent families in different living situations react differently to such incentives for extrafamilial care and employment. In this regard, we take the economic theory of the allocation of time (within the family context) as a theoretical point of departure (Becker 1965, 1991; Connelly 1992). According to this broad theoretical framework, parents seek to optimally balance their working-time with the time spent with their children and time for themselves (leisure). Furthermore, parents' childcare and labor-related decisions are expected to depend on the quality of extrafamilial childcare as well as the time their children spend in such settings (Connelly 1992). Since subsidies decrease fixed costs and increase the opportunity costs of not working (more), one would expect a positive impact of subsidizing childcare on families' labor supply. However, existing evidence, namely the one from natural and quasi-experiments, indicates that this is not always the case (e.g., Bauernschuster and Schlotter 2015; Lefebvre, Merrigan, and Verstraete 2009). Moreover, this framework only allows for a moderate degree of heterogeneity in families' working and childcare preferences. Given the prevalence of varying preferences for different childcare modes as well as family and work concepts in different strata of modern societies (e.g., male breadwinner vs. dual-earner households; Blau and Robins 1989; Minguez 2012; Shlay 2010), we broaden this view by hypothesizing that the effects of subsidies differ according to individual social status, migration background and the available monetary resources from other sources. In this regard, since subsidies offer a substantial reduction of living costs for low-status households with less resources, these families are expected to increase their labor supply the most when subsidies increase. To examine how different people respond to different levels of subsidies, we use data from a factorial survey experiment which was part of a larger survey on families' childcare preferences in the city of Bern, Switzerland. The data were collected as a stratified random cluster sampling. 540 people returned completed questionnaires, representing roughly 60% of the contacted sample. In the factorial survey, respondents were presented a new employment opportunity that was characterized as matching their skills and expectations. Furthermore, the vignettes suggested that they had already found a suitable nursery for their children. The daily earnings, the prize to pay for childcare after taking subsidies into account, the amount of household income from other sources, but also the distance to the nursery, the number and the age of the children were randomly altered in a D-efficient design. Respondents were then asked to indicate whether they would accept the offered employment and, if so, how many (weekly) hours they would choose to work. Using conditional logistic regression models and simulations based on the estimated utility function, it can be demonstrated how subsidies do make a difference for families' labor supply. However, they only have an effect for women, not for men. Moreover, while people not born in Switzerland were more likely to work more hours to begin with, subsidies do generally not further increase their labor supply. Although subsidies increase people's labor supply across all social strata, they have the biggest impact for women who belong to the highest status quartile and for those with the highest income from other sources. These women increase, on average, their labor supply by about 4 to 8 hours per week. Contrary to our expectation, this might reflect relatively higher opportunity costs of not working more hours when the relative costs of working decrease (due to higher subsidies). Finally, it should be noted that the marginal utility of subsidies decreases relatively quickly. Whether subsidies cover 25%, 50% or even 100% of the costs for childcare does not make a big difference when comparing these scenarios to the baseline of no subsidies at all. All in all, childcare subsidies are an important means to increase families' labor supply and therefore crucially contribute to the work-life

balance of families in modern societies. However, they have differentiated effects according to individual social status, gender, and non-working income, emphasizing the need for more carefully designed family policies.

Anu Kinnunen & Osmo Kontula: Singleness and well-being

Based on earlier research it is known that couple relationship affects quality of life, especially in the case of men. The choice of living as a single is not much talked about and the idea of a couple with children as nuclear family lives strong. This article investigates to what extent men and women strive for couple relationships and how singleness relates to well-being. We compared singles striving for a couple relationship, singles without a strong wish for such a relationship, and people in couple relationships. Three dimensions, viz. happiness, loneliness and psychosomatic symptoms, served as indicators of well-being. Quantitative methods were used for the analysis. The data is from the National Study of Human Relations, Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles in Finland (FINSEX), 1992, 1999, 2007 and 2015. It has been collected by Family Federation of Finland and University of Helsinki. This data covers 6155 participants aged 25-64. Of these, one in six lives without an intimate relationship. Single men striving for a couple relationship reported higher levels of loneliness than other singles. They also had more nightmares, anxiety and overstraining than the singles without strong wish for relationship. Single men striving for a couple relationship were not significantly unhappier than other singles. From all men, the ones in relationship reported highest level of well-being. The results show that well-being is not only connected with the relationship status but also with the possible contradiction between the actual and the desired relationship status. The results also indicate that for men striving for a relationship is more connected with reducing loneliness than obtaining higher levels of happiness. key words: loneliness, singleness, well-being, men

Felicia Anna Robles: Family map and Life line: new perspectives in qualitative children of divorce research

Many changes are affecting the family today, transforming the foundations of self-identity, which are the core models for everyday personal life. The situation of family disruption and reconfiguration after a separation/divorce raises a number of human and social issues/transitions which deserve to be better understood. This survey being carried out on a sample of young Italian adults, shows in the form of qualitative research the main features of these methods, the Family map and Life line. They define the structure, the positions of family members, the relationships between them and conceptualize who belongs to a family that has changed, with crucial events related. The interviewee can actively identify and describe graphically (within the four sections and the concentric circles of the map and along the line) which relations and facts are more or less relevant. The interviewer can ask questions in order to get some processes of change and the actors' own perception of such change, e.g. with reference to current state or past events. Along a specific visual development of the graphs -while providing a helpful framework- this throws some light on what family relationships, events and representations are on the perception of the person involved. The challenge posed for this visual methods is to continue to conceive of individuals in terms of relational approach, through the interdependence with self, others, and the world during the course of life. A great contribution of this tool sui generis is that it opens the door to numerous additional questions on belonging and family "we-ness", that need answers and further research. Keywords: children of divorce, visual methods, qualitative research, network maps, relational approach

Mary Blair-Loy & Erin A. Cech: The Devaluation of STEM Faculty Mothers: The Case of a Research University in the United States

In the United States, research on gender and work has found that mothers face disadvantages above and beyond those attributed to gender. In national surveys, mothers experience a wage penalty of about five percent per child, net of the human capital and occupational factors that generally affect wages (Budig and England 2001). Scholars have debated whether the motherhood penalty is caused primarily by supply side factors (e.g., unmeasured differences in workers' productivity) or by demand side factors (e.g., employer organizations' assumptions that mothers are less committed, and less competent than other professionals (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick 2004; Correll, Bernard and Paik 2007). This paper investigates whether there is a motherhood penalty among academic scientists in a public research university with highly ranked STEM programs in the United States. All faculty respondents have maintained full-time, dedicated careers. Most believe that evaluation and advancement criteria are fair and objective. We ask: Is there a motherhood penalty among STEM faculty in our case university? If so, can it be accounted for by differences in mothers' work hours, research hours, or actual productivity? Theoretical Approach Core content of the professional culture of academic STEM can be usefully analyzed as cultural schemas (Blair-Loy and Cech, forthcoming). Cultural schemas specify shared frameworks for "understanding and evaluating what we know as reality," developed over time and largely unquestioned (Blair-Loy 2003, 4). They inform and justify resource distribution, and institutional policies. Specifically, this paper examines how the cultural schema of work devotion shapes the degree to which faculty are rewarded with respect and salary, in ways that unduly penalize mothers. The

"work devotion schema" is a cultural mandate that defines work as a calling deserving of undivided allegiance (Blair-Loy 2003, 2010). Academic science provides an exemplar case for this analysis. Max Weber commented on "scientific vocation" as one of pure, undistracted, commitment to the mission of pursuing and teaching scientific knowledge. To be a meritorious scientist, engineer, or mathematician means expressing unwavering dedication to one's profession, above all other life commitments—especially caregiving responsibilities. Data and Methods At our case university, we collected organizational data and survey data (N = 502, 52% response rate) of all the academic STEM faculty. We used these data to construct OLS regression models of salary, net of demographics, family status, and job variables (department, rank, step, etc.). We also controlled for the actual number and impact of articles produced, variables we mined from a scholarly production data base. We also conducted 85 interviews, which we analyzed with the qualitative software program Nvivo. We began by creating Nvivo codes to create typologies of empirical patterns. We gradually aggregated these codes into more abstract and conceptual understandings that contribute to our emergent theory. Our case university is comparable to other U.S. highly-ranked research institutions in size, student-faculty ratio, and number of full-time faculty. Further, 81% of our survey sample received their PhDs from other top-50 universities, suggesting some isomorphism in their understandings of merit. We expect that our findings generalize to other top public research universities in the U.S. Findings On average, mothers work similar hours as fathers. Mothers and fathers work fewer total hours than their childless colleagues but spend similar amounts of time on their research as do childless faculty members. Further, analyses of our productivity data base show that mothers are equally successful at winning research grants and have equal or higher publishing rates than their childless colleagues. In our sample, mothers are paid significantly less than other faculty, even net of department, job level, demographics, and scholarly production. Our interviews illustrate how mothers, fathers, and others have widely embraced the work devotion schema's mandate that work requires single-minded allegiance. Many faculty believe that mothers—more than fathers—are naturally and inevitably pulled away from devotion to work by a competing, moralized commitment to child rearing. Most faculty in the interview sample – mothers and non-mothers -- believe that it is almost impossible to combine motherhood with a highly productive academic career due to mothers' naturalized preoccupation with family devotion. Mothers are framed as less capable of handling the day-to-day requirements of running a laboratory, thinking scientifically in a sustained and creative way, and pushing the boundaries of their disciplines. There is a pervasive cultural belief among STEM faculty that mothers are less devoted to work than others are and therefore are less excellent as scientists. Mothers pay dearly for this belief in academic STEM. Given that about two thirds of the women in academic STEM in this university are mothers, the motherhood pay penalty potentially affects most women.

| 14.00-15.40 | **Session 4a (SN202) / Chair: Ulrike Zartler**
FAMILY RELATIONS ACROSS BORDERS |

Vida Česnuitytė: Doing family across borders: importance of routine practices, feasts and traditions

The research aim is to explore practices ensuring family survival in the context of globalization and mass migration. The main research questions are as such: which family practices are most important for families across borders? What factors facilitate practices that strengthen the family? What interfere practicing these important family practices? The issues are related to the need of reconceptualization and, as well, strengthen of families with migrant members. The research object – family practices. In general, practices may be treated in different ways (Brannen, 2017). For example, Reckwitz (2002) even more detach practices from family, and suggest to analyze practices as separate objects, its sequences, interconnectedness and etc. characteristics. Shove et al. (2012) associate practices with competences, materials and meanings that are necessary for the execution of particular practices. Though, in this research, family practices are explored in a way suggested by Morgan (1996; 2011): performing daily routines, practicing feasts, traditions, rituals and other practices involve members of the nuclear family, other kin and non-kin, so, assemble personal community / social network, and, widely speaking, create family. Smart (2007) extended the approach till the 'doing family' concept: family is what it's members do together. That brings family practices closer to the 'we' creation concept (Bernardes, 1988; Levin, 1999). The latter understanding of family practices is especially useful in the context of family de-institutionalization and mass migration once provide new information about the peculiarities of family life that are impossible to investigate based on other theoretical approaches and social research tools. Knowledge on family practices provide practical and social benefits: the research results may be useful in formation and development of social policy, for the strengthening family and solidarity between generations. However, this theoretical approach is relatively new, thus empirical knowledge about practices creating a family still is lacking. So far, family practices very fragmentary associated with migration processes. The research is based on data collected in two representative quantitative surveys conducted in Lithuania. The first of it carried out between November, 2011 – January, 2012 within the research project "Trajectories of family models and social networks: intergenerational perspective" (2000 respondents). The second survey will be carried out between January – April, 2018 within the research project "Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies" (1000 respondents). The research results reveal that family practices like dinner every day or at least on Sundays, holidays spent together, and many other create social ties and networks called "family". It was found that different family practices make impacts depending on type of relationship: whether persons involved into

practices are members of nuclear or extended family, are they kin or non-kin, whether they live under one roof or separately, and etc. It was found that even non-kin who don't live under the same roof are able to create familial relationships if are involved into joint routine activities, feasts, or traditions. Families with members across borders experience additional obstacles to maintain these important practices in sense of space and time. Thus, the power of practices' impact depend on kind of relationship and, as well, circumstances: some factors facilitate, and the others interfere doing family, especially, across borders.

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Susanne Schuehrer & Manuel Siegert: Separation from Families and Subjective Wellbeing among Refugees

This paper examines the connection between the transnational location of family members and the subjective well-being of asylum seekers who have migrated to Germany since 2013. Results indicate that the location of the family influences subjective well-being differently, depending on where the family is located, i.e. in the same household, in the same country but not in the same household or abroad. In March 2016, the German government decided to suspend family reunification for refugees with subsidiary protection. In practice, this resulted in thousands of people having to leave their families in crisis areas and refugee camps behind. This led to a critical public debate on the possible damage and benefits of family reunification to integration status. While there is a body of research focusing on family constellations and subjective well-being, there are no studies on asylum seeking migrants in Germany since 2013 and their particular family situation of leaving parts of their family behind in crisis areas. The theoretical approach follows the "need and goal satisfaction theory" (Diener et al. 2001). The theory suggests that subjective well-being depends on the satisfaction of needs, i. e. safety, food, social contacts, as well as the reduction of discrepancy between an "ideal self" and one's "ought self" (p. 66). This means that individuals have an ideal picture of themselves that does not (yet) coincide with their own constitution. This can refer to basic needs, but also to needs with an idealistic character, such as career goals. From this two arguments can be deduced: Firstly, contrary to most studies, which tend to be conducted in politically stable countries (e.g. Kohler et al. 2005, Soons et al. 2009), a very basic and therefore important need - physical safety - plays a central role in refugees, that is not fulfilled for their family members, when they are left behind. Secondly, family itself fulfils emotional, physical and material needs, but only under the precondition that there is the possibility of social exchange. This type of needs, for instance, is sharing financial resources, household chores, paperwork etc. (Hobfoll 2002). Geographical proximity plays a central role here. Three hypotheses can be derived from this. The first hypothesis results from both lines of argumenta-tion: 1. Life satisfaction is higher when spouse and children live with the individual rather than abroad. The second hypothesis, the "safety hypothesis", refers to the need to know the family in safety. The relevant factor is the localization in a safe country. It is assumed that it does not matter whether the family is close to the individual, i.e. in the same household or the same region, but it matters that the family is in a safe state. "Safety hypothesis": 2a. Life satisfaction does not differ between persons with a spouse and/or children living in Germany (safe), independently of living together or not. The third hypothesis, the "resource hypothesis", states that the family functions mainly as a re-source and therefore depends on whether physical contact is possible under the given spatial conditions. "Resource hypothesis": 2b. Life satisfaction does not differ between persons with a spouse and/or children living in Germany but not in the same household or the same location, and persons whose spouse/children live abroad. The analysis is based on the IAB-BAMF-SOEP Survey of Refugees in Germany, comprising about 4,000 asylum seekers who entered the country between 2013 and 2016. About 30% of all mar-ried persons have a spouse and/or at least one child living abroad. Preliminary results show sig-nificant differences in life satisfaction among those who have either a spouse or at least one child who lives abroad. This difference holds even after controlling for relevant third variables in a multivariate model. Persons with their family abroad are significantly less satisfied than those, who have their family in Germany. There is no significant difference in life satisfaction between persons living with the spouse or child close by, and persons with their family somewhere else in Germany, supporting the safety hypothesis.

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Marta Buler: Social remittances into family life: case study of the Polish return migrants and their families

The research question: The main research question pertains to the impact of migration on the non-material aspects of family life. In the presented paper, the role of social remittances in the process of "doing family" in kin networks marked by a migration experience is being investigated. Theoretical approach: The conceptual framework of this paper relies on combining several perspectives at the junction of family research and migration studies. First, uncovering of the „doing family" processes stems from D.H. Morgan's works (1996, 2011). Secondly, the realm of migration is framed through the concept of social remittances. Coined by Peggy Levitt (1998, 2001; with Lamba-Nieves 2010) the term signifies "ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities" (Levitt, 1998). The model is expanded with the social remitting process framework reconstructed by Grabowska et al. (2016). This is the lens to take a closer look at transnational families (Bryceson, D. and Vuorela, 2002) while acknowledging the life-course perspective (Giele, Z.J. and Elder H.G., Jr., 1998) underscoring the differences between the kin members. Methodology: The theoretical approach (see: theoretical approach) is combined with the qualitative mix method study based on the three research projects (see: data). In the project the interpretative paradigm is being followed and the Layder's (1998) approach is being implemented. Data: Three qualitative components comprise this study. First is a secondary data analysis of historical sources found in classic migration studies. The next element is a secondary data analysis of the findings from the study Cultural diffusion through social remittances between Poland and UK conducted in 2011-2015 in Poland and the United Kingdom. The presentation will be focused on the data gathered in primary research which is the third component of the PhD project. The research was conducted among chosen participants of QLS study on Cultural diffusion through social remittances between Poland and UK. Researcher decided to revisit five return migrant and their families to investigate the field of social remittances into family life. The chosen method is IDIs with genogram visual presentation of family relations and life line of interviewee important life events. Research findings: Social remittances play an important role for the process of "doing family". They can effectively change the track that family members follow. On the one hand, remittances may alter the practices of everyday family life, attitudes towards raising children or celebrations and traditions. On the level of ideas and norms, migration may introduce modifications to gender roles in the intimate relations, familial solidarity, and attitudes towards traditional institutions such as marriage. Social capital seems to be the least susceptible to change. The paper will be focused on two aspects concerning social remittances into family life: (1) findings on raising children among return migrants and (2) everyday life in a family with transnational experience.

Sanna Saksela-Bergholm: The mutual significance of remittances in transnational Filipino families

Until now scholars have mainly studied the role of remittances for family members left behind, whereas the mutual significance of remittances has gained less attention. This paper turns attention to the importance of remittances in the daily life of Filipino migrants living in Finland and among their family members left behind in the Philippines. Remittances provide not only economic, but also social support in the form of guidance, knowledge, emotional support and caregiving practices. These kinds of supports are here defined as social remittances (Levitt 1998; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves 2011). The aim of this paper is to answer what the mutual significances of remittances in cross-border family life are? What are the positive and negative consequences of these remittances and transnational family ties? First, the paper discusses what is meant by a family in transnational context, how a transnational family life is created and maintained. Secondly, it explores the importance of remittances in the lives of the transnational family members. Attention is given both to the use of remittances by the family members left behind in the Philippines, and by the labour migrants working in Finland. For the former, economic remittances provide financial support for their daily expenses, but also informal social protection in form of financial means for the education and health care fees. Whereas, social remittances take shape as emotional support and caregiving practices providing relief for the migrants. The paper builds on the social capital theory, emphasising the bonding of social capital as strong ethnic ties (Bourdieu 1986, Putman 2000). Bonding provides an opportunity to maintain close contacts and trust between the family members, sometimes including also external members beyond the nuclear family, such as uncles/aunties and nieces/nephews. The paper demonstrates that an analysis of multisited data can contribute to a more profound understanding of how transnational families function. By analysing the use and nature of transnational ties, and by studying the transnational family members' experiences and interpretation of migration and remittances, it is possible to reveal how cross-border living is negotiated among family members by norms, moral obligations and trust (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Coleman 1988). The results show that transnational family ties do not always provide a positive outcome, but can create unintended inequality and even disruption of social family structures. The data consists in total of 48 interviews comprising twenty-eight semi-structured interviews conducted among Filipino labour migrants working in Finland and of eight interviews of family members left behind in the Philippines. Additional information of the significance of remittances has been retrieved from interviews conducted among return migrants and from formal and informal organisations working for the protection of Filipino labour migrants' working conditions. Further background data consist of participant observations from social and religious events and from documents received from Filipino immigrant associations, Churches, NGOs and local authorities in the

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Session 4b (SN203) / Chair: Katarzyna Suwada
GENDER-SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDINGS OF PARENTING

Diana Baumgarten: Male Breadwinner and Female Co-earner: the new gender equality in families? Changing imaginations of parenthood and the reconciliation of occupation and family life in a neoliberal society

In recent years family arrangements have pluralised and the traditional bourgeois family model with a male breadwinner and a female housewife has lost much of its former force. At the same time, normative images of fatherhood and motherhood have started to shift, too. With regards to men, the changing societal norms become especially evident in the clash between traditional bourgeois understandings of masculinity and new imaginaries of fatherhood. On the one hand, gainful employment is still a key constituent of men's identities and of how men care about their families (e.g. Scholz 2009). One the other hand, a growing number of men reject the traditional bourgeois family model and strive to have more time to care for their families (Baumgarten et al. 2017a). With regards to women, we find a parallel trend from a different starting point. While men try to reconcile occupation with family, women seek to reconcile family with occupation. For many women, being a mother and caring for family members are still key constituents of their identity. However, growing numbers of women do not want to give up their gainful employment when they become mothers and strive to continue their careers (Baumgarten et al. 2017b; Wehner et al. 2012). In their attempts to combine occupational and family life in new ways, women and men are confronted with institutional constraints of the labour market (Born/Krüger 2002). New forms of parenthood are often difficult to reconcile with dominant occupational cultures and structures. In our research project "Anticipated parenthood and vocational pathways", an empirical study of 30-year old, young adults in Switzerland working in gender-typical, -neutral or -untypical occupations the leading research question was what ideas today's women and men have about starting a family, parenthood and familial division of labour, and how they relate it to the importance and requirements of their professional life? The reconstructive analysis of our 48 in-depth interviews shows that lower- as middle-class women as men anticipate rather traditional parental roles even before their family starts. This differs from what numerous studies found by exploring the processes which today's lead to the most common family model with a 'male breadwinner' and a 'female part-time co-earner'. A lot of these studies assume that especially middle-class (and academic) couples have egalitarian ideals in mind - which only fail when put into practice (see e.g. at Koppetsch and Burkart and their well-known book with the apt title "The Illusion of Emancipation", 1999). But we could see that people mostly don't see difficulties with reconciling occupational and family life as a structural problem. Adopting a neoliberal logic, they assume that it is the responsibility of the individual family to make their preferred family arrangement work. If we particularly look at the conceptualization of parental roles, we can see how the decision for the division of labour is framed as free and individualized and based on the assumption of achieved gender equality. Their choice could have easily turned out the opposite way. Thus, they believe they have chosen the most common family model with a 'male breadwinner' and a 'female part-time co-earner' by chance. What they are not aware of is that this is still the hegemonic idea of gender-specific familial work division. In my talk, I will present first results, focussing on the interviewees conceptions of fatherhood and motherhood and the extent to which their different conceptions of parenthood are reconcilable with gainful employment. Secondly I like to present, how we interpreted this as an effect of neoliberal subjectivity. I will show how men struggle to combine flexiblized norms of fatherhood with the breadwinner ideal while women feel the pressure to decide between employment and motherhood. And how the neoliberal discourse makes it impossible at all, to address the existing power and dependency relationships. Literature: Baumgarten D., Wehner N., Maihofer A., Schwiter K. (2017a) „Wenn Vater, dann will ich Teilzeit arbeiten" Die Verknüpfungen von Berufs- und Familienvorstellungen bei 30jährigen Männern aus der deutschsprachigen Schweiz. GENDER, Sonderheft 4, 76-91. 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Georgia Philip: Men in recurrent care proceedings: Fathers up against it?

This paper will present the methodological challenges and some early findings from an ambitious and important new UK study of fathers who lose multiple children to out of home care or adoption. The study funded by the Nuffield Foundation and is a collaboration between the University of East Anglia and Lancaster University. It involves three interlinked elements: an analysis of data from CAFCASS (Children and Family Court Advisory and Support Service) to identify patterns and trends of fathers in care proceedings in England, along with of their risk of recurrence; a survey of men involved in care proceedings; and a qualitative longitudinal study of fathers involved in recurrent care proceedings. In the UK, fathers have legal party status in approximately 70% of s.31 proceedings each year, with a high volume of recurrent care cases affecting at least 43,500 mothers but also 30,000 fathers between 2007 and 2014 (Broadhurst et al., 2016). There is a dearth of representative research on the characteristics of fathers in first and recurrent care proceedings and on the impact of these on fathers themselves, in terms of social relations, mental health and wellbeing, subsequent family and life aspirations. Brandon et al.'s Nuffield funded study (2014-2016) has drawn attention to the importance of gender differences in relation to how birth parents appear in care proceedings and also navigate parenthood beyond child removal. Fathers are more able than mothers to avoid scrutiny or identification by public agencies making it more difficult to engage with them and assess the balance of risk and resource for any child they hope to parent. Fathers' lives, post child protection and court proceedings, reveal a different pattern of cumulative disadvantage (Broadhurst and Mason, 2017) than mothers. These lives are characterised by greater transience, precarious work, insecure accommodation as well as fragile relationships and often unmet physical and emotional health needs. Further to this, engaging with fathers is yet to be seen as part of the 'core business' of social work (Zanoni et al 2013) and the issue of how local authorities may fail to work effectively with men is longstanding (Clapton, 2013). Fathers continue to be seen as 'hard to reach', a term which in itself can limit professionals capacity and willingness to build working relationships with men. Failure to engage with fathers and male partners of mothers may result in dangerous practice (Scourfield, 2006; Featherstone & Peckover, 2007). Studies of serious case reviews (of child maltreatment-related death or serious harm) have highlighted cases of inflexible and fearful thinking by social workers about the role of men in families and finding that men's presence in the family home and the nature of their involvement in caregiving was often overlooked (Brandon et al., 2009). Studies examining the safeguarding spectrum, from early difficulties where there are risks of harm through to serious abuse and neglect, have found that although men are often present and influencing family outcomes, they are frequently ignored, and rarely fully explored, as either a positive or a negative influence (Brown et al., 2009; Gordon et al., 2012; Zanoni et al., 2013). The current project will establish the scale and pattern of fathers' repeat appearances in care proceedings, examine the characteristics of fathers in first and repeat proceedings and look at how these men compare to the general demographic. It will also generate longitudinal insight into the rehabilitative challenges that fathers face and present, including how men manage grief, stigma and loss in relation to both father-child and intimate adult relationships. This paper outlines some methodological strategies and dilemmas involved in developing our mixed methods study, and discusses the complexity of researching fatherhood in a context where it is seriously challenged and often remains poorly understood. This includes issues relating to the design and implementation of the father survey, and to gendered ideas about masculinity, fatherhood and care of children which, we argue, continue to permeate local authority and family court procedures and practice. In discussing such issues, and our research decisions and responses to them, the paper also raises wider theoretical and political questions such as whether men who have had multiple children removed from their care are 'entitled' to fatherhood, and what is the balance of 'care and control' owed to such fathers by the state and by local authorities. References: Brandon, M., Bailey, S., Belderson, P., Gardner, R., Sidebotham, P., Dodsworth, J., Warren, C. and Black, J. (2009) Understanding Serious Case Reviews and their Impact: A biennial analysis of serious case reviews 2005-07. London: Department for Children, Schools and Families. Broadhurst, K.E., Alrouh, B., Mason, C.S., Yeend, E., Kershaw, S., Shaw, M. & Harwin, J. (2016) Women and infants in care proceedings in England: new insights from research on recurrent care proceedings. Family Law, 46(2), 208-211. Broadhurst, K. & Mason, C. 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Catherine Jones: "Dadvocates" exploring the narratives of stay-at-home fathers

Research Topic: This exploratory study reports on a group of stay-at-home fathers' experiences of being a male primary caregiver. A two-parent, heterosexual family may seem 'traditional' from an outside perspective and promoted by conservative political parties. Yet, when the breadwinner father and stay-at-home mother set-up is reversed, this family goes against the patriarchal values many societies dictate, and are dictated by. Couples where the father stays at home and the mother is a breadwinner is a type of family structure that relatively little is known about and inequality prevails within heterosexual two-parent families in that the majority of women are still primary caregivers. Understanding this family form would contribute to our understanding of contemporary family life by exploring the narratives of a group of fathers who are often overlooked in family research. Theoretical approach:

The role congruity theory of prejudice depicts how prejudice arises due to discrepancy between the perceived qualities of a certain social group and ideas about qualities that contribute to success in well-regarded social roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Therefore, according to the role congruity theory of prejudice, societal conceptualisations of stay-at-home fathers may differ from the character traits that are typically seen to be desirable for a man to be successful, such as being a provider. This is an important theoretical perspective to consider as it may offer an explanation as to why previous research has found stay-at-home fathers experience a high volume of stigma (as found in Rochlen et al., 2010; Robertson & Verschelden, 1993; Smith, 1998; Zimmerman, 2000). Methodology: Participants were approached individually by the researcher during their attendance at a stay-at-home father convention in North Carolina, were given information about the study, and asked if they would like to participate. Thirteen fathers were asked to be interviewed while attending the convention. All fathers approached agreed to take part. Semi-structured interviews were administered by a research psychologist trained in the study techniques. The interviews covered a range of quantitative and qualitative questions about the fathers' experiences of parenting, their relationship with their children and partner, and finished with an extended qualitative section including open-ended questions on ideas on fathering. Data: Interview data from 13 either current stay-at-home fathers (N = 12) and one father who was a stay-at-home father yet had recently returned to work. A thematic analysis of the interview transcripts was conducted according to the principles outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Research findings: A key theme was the prevalence of stigma the fathers experience. They described that they were perceived as incapable primary caregivers, due to long-standing societal expectations regarding women being seen as more competent parents in comparison to men. From the interviews it was also evident that some stigma experienced by stay-at-home dads was due to perceptions that men can be a threat to the safety of children and / or women especially at playgrounds where men are the minority. As a result of the stigma they face, the fathers emphasised the pressure on them to conform to more traditional male roles in society, which manifested in three key ways; (i) describing the pressure they feel to work, (ii) stating how they still parent differently from mothers, and (iii) some of the fathers used workplace terminology to describe their primary caregiving, in order to create a narrative of being a working man as a stay-at-home parent. It was clear that from the narratives of these men, stay-at-home fathers have a lot of difficult experiences, therefore looking into structures of support is essential. When the fathers were asked what would help stay-at-home fathers, two common categories were constructed from the data. Firstly, networks with other stay-at-home dads and secondly greater societal recognition of the value of their role. Discussion: The father's own narratives of primary caregiving appeared to be strongly influenced by societal perceptions that fathers are not as competent at primary caregiving as mothers. This shows how the role congruity theory of prejudice may shed some light on how these families are still stigmatised and what may prevent more fathers taking on this role. Additionally, the fathers' insight into the structural barriers to being fully accepted as stay-at-home fathers and their suggestions for support are important in considering how policy changes can help with tackling the prejudice faced by these fathers. The present research, like other studies on stay-at-home fathers, contribute to our knowledge of contemporary family life, particularly as this field of work demonstrates that gender role reversal remains a point of controversy and continues to elicit social stigma. It appears that raising awareness of gender role reversal is needed to further societal acceptance of modern families such as these.

Tomas Cano: Does fathers' time matter for children cognitive development?

During the past few decades many Western countries have witnessed a rise in fathers' involvement in childcare – defined as the time father and child spend together (Gauthier et al., 2004). This shift has been attributed to increasing maternal labour force participation and the spread of gender egalitarian and intensive parenting ideologies (Esping-Andersen, 2009). In this emerging model of involved fatherhood, fathers are not only expected to act as income providers, but also to actively engage with the day-to-day caring and upbringing of their children (Barbeta and Cano, 2017). The importance of fathers' involvement in childcare is twofold. First, it can be a precursor to increasing gender equality within families, by 'freeing up' time for mothers to develop their skills, (re-)enter the labour market, and realise their economic potential (Hook, 2006). Second, theoretical perspectives in sociology, psychology and economics suggest that fathers' time in childcare should be positively associated with child development (Tamis-LeMonda and Cabrera, 2002; Pleck, 2010). For instance, children with involved fathers are exposed to more varied stimuli, resulting from interacting with two parents with different values, behaviors, vocabulary and parenting styles, and this can lead to better cognitive outcomes for the child (Lamb, 2010). The increasing availability of quality time-use data on families has spurred a wave of research and academic debate on whether and how time investments in children contribute to child development (see Milkie et al., 2015; Waldfogel, 2015; Kalil and Mayer, 2015). Recent studies have focused on the time allotments made by mothers (e.g. Hsin and Felfe, 2014; Milkie et al., 2015; Fomby and Musick, 2017) or parents, in general (Fiorini and Keane, 2014). Findings indicate that both types of time inputs are positively associated with children's cognitive abilities. They also suggest that not all types of parental time are beneficial for children. Activity content matters, and parent-child time spent in educational activities is comparatively more productive than parent-child time spent in other activities (Hsin, 2009), particularly at certain developmental stages (Kalil, Ryan and Corey 2012). However, this literature has largely neglected how the time children spend with their fathers (as opposed to their mothers or any parent) influences child

	outcomes. This study fills this gap in knowledge by considering father-child time in its own right. We contribute to the incipient literature on father involvement in childcare and child outcomes in two main ways. First, we use detailed time-use information on the amount of time fathers spend with their children, and the nature of their joint activities. This contrasts with previous research relying on coarse proxy measures for parental time investments, such as employment hours (Bernal, 2008; Todd and Wolpin, 2003, 2007), or considering certain types of time in isolation, such as educational or recreational time (Del Bono, 2016). Second, we consider effect heterogeneity by paternal education (Lareau, 2011). Time-use research indicates that more educated parents spend more time with their children than less educated parents, and also allocate more time to shared activities that enhance child development (Guryan et al., 2004). This time expenditure gap is widening over time (Putnam, 2015; Altintas, 2015). Hence, if fathers' time in childcare has positive impacts on children's cognitive capacities, it could be a contributing factor to the intergenerational (re)production of inequalities and the 'diverging destinies' of children from more and less advantaged families (McLanahan & Jacobsen, 2015; Kalil, Ryan & Corey 2012). The goal of this paper is therefore to provide the first encompassing empirical account of the associations between father-child time and children's cognitive outcomes. To accomplish this, we use high quality, time-diary, panel data from the Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC) on the amount of time that fathers spend with their children, paying attention to the content of the shared activities and effect heterogeneity by paternal education.
16.00-17.15	**Session 5a (SN202) / Chair: Sigtona Halrynjo** SIBLINGS
	Dana Sykorova: Siblings known and unknown The author of the paper frames the theme of the Interim Meeting 2018 into the specific context of siblinghood in late age. With regard to the overlap and, at the same time, distinctness of siblings' family networks (i.e. siblings' anchoring in their own families of procreation and in their wider family community derived from their families of origin at the same time), she presents answers to the following questions: what does being a family mean for adult siblings; what "family" do they make and remake, in what ways and under what conditions; what position is held by siblings' bonds in the complex of their relatives; in what way do siblings define and negotiate boundaries, or relationship between their (nuclear) families and extended families. The paper is based on the qualitative sociological study Graying Siblinghood, funded by the Czech Science Foundation (reg. no. 17-07321S); its main objective is to uncover seniors' living siblinghood and strategies of action in sibling/family relationships. The research is designed within interpretative sociology, or constructivist epistemology. The author approaches sibling relationships as part of the kinship network of relationships of the families of origin and families of procreation (Fingerman, Bermann 2000); she based her contribution on the key concepts of relationality, embeddedness, togetherness, belongingness (Widmer, Jallinoja 2008, 2011). The crucial concept is also ambivalence, "emerging as a mixture of contradictory feelings with both expectations of and tendencies towards closeness and distance." (Sýkorová 2011: 9; Lüscher 2002). Because personal experience of the previous stages of life may be brought into negotiations of the meaning of siblinghood and family relationships, the concept of biography is also taken into considerations (life course perspective (Hutchison 2011)). The author presents selected outcomes of the analysis of data obtained mainly by means of in-depth individual interviews (complemented with adapted Family Structure and Siblings Questionnaires (Riggio 2000; Walęcka-Matyja 2016)), further by means of focus groups and instrumental multiple case studies. (The analysis was realised in correspondence with the principles of constructivist grounded theory. (Charmaz 2014)). On the basis of the hitherto results, it is possible to describe siblings' bonds in later age as a fluid, ambivalent bond: Siblings ascribe the meaning of natural, irrevocable, consanguinity-defined bond exceeding their generation. At the same time, siblinghood turns out to be a voluntary, exclusive, egalitarian bond, unprotected against the risk of collapsing. What connects siblings to their extended family (family of origin) is the feeling of belongingness, interest in their parents and siblings' families, mutual "awareness of each other". Continuity of personal contacts, mainly family gatherings, and willingness and capability to negotiate tensions and conflicts seems to be a precondition and "proof" of good sibling or family relationships, as well as readiness to help and "natural character" of emotional support. At the same time, siblings draw a line between their own families of procreation and extended family; they put emphasis on their autonomy, privacy; they do not have objections to frequency of contacts with their brothers or sisters; they do not expect instrumental help from them. The characterisation of siblinghood as "known and unknown" refers to researchers' increasing attention paid to it in several last decades, and to prevailing "pettiness" of its study compared to research on intergenerational family relationships and continuous prevalence of the quantitative methodology with its limited possibilities to capture detailed data, diverse interrelationships and the context of studied phenomena. It also shows the importance of the study of siblinghood for deeper understanding of contemporary family life "in general". It embeds it in social-political and media discourse of help or support in old age that ascribes primary responsibility to family or relatives in the Czech Republic. Fingerman, K. L., Bermann, E. 2000. Applications of Family Systems Theory to the Study of Adulthood. Inter-national Journal of Aging & Human Development 51, 5–29. Hutchison, E. D. (ed.) 2011. Dimensions of Human Behavior: The Changing Life Course. London: Sage. Charmaz, K. 2014. Constructing Grounded Theory. London: Sage. Jallinoja, R., Widmer, E. D. (eds.). Families and Kinship in Contemporary Europe. Rules and Practices of Re-latedness. Basingstoke:

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Daniela Klaus: Sibling Relationships in Old Age: The Case of Germany

Many studies demonstrated that partners, spouses, and grown-up children are major sources of a great variety of support and social integration in middle and even more, in old age. Demographic changes within the last decades, however, involve a decline of the potential of these nuclear family relationships. This is, basically, because of declining fertility, rising permanent childlessness, greater geographic distance between adult children and their parents, and growing instability of partnerships and marriages. At the same time, siblings became increasingly present in people's life: The joint (co-resident) life time of siblings has increased due to the growing age at which children leave the parental home and due to the growing life expectancy. Sibling relationships are the longest relationships one can have. And the majority of today's and future (baby-boomer generation) older adults have siblings alive. According to the German Ageing Survey (2014) around 88 percent of those aged 55 to 69 and 70 percent of those 70 to 85 have at least one sibling.   Despite these trends, gerontological family research in Germany has largely disregarded sibling(relationship)s in old age. Therefore, only little is known about their realities and potential for old age. Since the 1990s, the US-American and Canadian research paid more attention to this topic. Their findings show high emotional closeness and frequency of contact among older siblings. Contact increases when parents become dependent on care and recent studies focus on the within-family dynamic when parents' care has to be organized. With respect to mutual exchange of support, findings suggest that siblings perform an emergency function for each other.   This paper aims to contribute to fill the research gap for Germany. Following the changing family structure and relying on the hierarchical-compensatory model (Cantor 1979), we ask whether siblings have a compensatory function in old age or not. In line with this model, we assume that siblings gain in importance in the life of older adults when partner or children – as most preferred supporters – are not available.   Data to test the research question were taken from the German Ageing Survey (DEAS), a nationwide study of the community-dwelling population in Germany aged 40 to 85 years. Between 1996 and 2017, six waves of data collection took place. For the present analysis, data from year 2002 were used. This is the only wave in which detailed information about respondents' siblings were gathered. We selected 3,120 respondents who have at least one living sibling. Logistic regressions were applied in order to estimate the probability of reporting a sibling as being a member of the close network or being a source of support.   According to our preliminary results, around one fifth of the respondents 40 years and older report that siblings belong to their close social network. One third received emotional and cognitive support from at least one sibling. In line with our hypotheses, in addition to respondents' characteristics describing their needs (e.g., age, health) and siblings' potential (number and sex), the availability of grown up children and the existence of a spouse do matter: Childless respondents are more likely to name a sibling in their close network than respondents who have a child living nearby. The same is true for widowed and divorced respondents compared to married respondents. These effects are stronger when considering the availability of siblings for giving advice and providing comfort: Being childless, widowed or divorced increases the probability of sibling support. Our findings are in line with the existing research: Siblings compensate for the non-existence of children and partner.

Katarzyna Debska: Siblings, class mobility and ambivalence: how inequalities between adult siblings affect their relations in lower, middle, and upper class

Sibling relationship are very often presented in sociology of family as equal and unproblematic and therefore it is usually invisible in analyses of family life of adult people. This vision is contrary to the experiences of social actors. The situation of inequalities among siblings is a challenge for the theory of reproduction which shows how following generations reproduce the social position of the previous ones. The divergence of experiences of siblings brought up in similar social conditions raise questions about the roots of this variety and its consequences. In the presentation I aim at discussing the consequences of unequal distribution of various forms of capitals between siblings in lower, middle, and upper classes in Poland. I will present how siblings shape relations with one another in a situation of split in their class position and what emotions it evoke. My analysis is based on class structure perspective and perspective of emotions and sociological ambivalence. The differences in class position of siblings confirm the observation that sociologist of class should search for class disparities within families, not outside them. Family is not always homogeneous in terms of class. Although family is a basic place of producing and reproducing class dispositions, habituses and owned capital of individual members may together greatly vary. These differences affect the organization of family relations. Bourdieu in his renowned book "Distinction. Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste" (Bourdieu 1979) described the experience of alienation experienced by people changing their class position in

a relation to the family. However, there are usually some integrating forces that stimulate individuals to try to find specific strategies of mashing class divisions and dealing with a sense of relationship breakdown or loss of a common language. The inequalities appearing in biographies of adult siblings very often lead to a situation of ambivalence when feeling rules (Hochschild 1979) regarding the "appropriate" emotions that should be felt toward siblings, embodied and internalized by individuals, stand in contradiction with the reality of individual experience. In a lower class there is a tendency to keep stable contacts with siblings. The cooperation is very often necessary because of small assets of individual family members. Furthermore, as other research proves (e.g. Conley 2004, Connidis 2007), in families owning insufficient economic capital children and adult siblings are more interdependent and the resources need to be divided unequally. This may lead to feeling of unequal treatment but also to a situation of solidarity and willingness to overcome tensions resulting from class differences. In middle class bigger independence in sibling relations is observed (independence and autonomy are perceived by middle class as important values) while in upper class relations between siblings are strong as they serve as one of the source of social capital. Another important factors in analysis of sibling relations are class and gender. Expectations toward men and women as well as toward younger and older children in families are different and influence the feeling rules. In my presentation I will concentrate on relations between siblings in families where there are no more than three children. My interviewees are adults older than 30. In my research the methodology of individual autobiographic interviews with elements of in-depth interviews is used. I interview siblings separately and ensure anonymity and confidentiality of information I gather during an interview. Research on family relations conducted with the participation of more than one family member requires being careful so as not to cause any tensions in a family as a consequence of the study.

Session 5b (SN203) / Chair: Sara Mazzucchelli
CONSTRUCTING AND STUDYING FAMILY

Malgorzata Sikorska: We are so hermetic' - the experience of the social isolation as one of the most important dimension constructing family life in contemporary Poland

The main aim of my presentation is to discuss the thesis on the social isolation as one of the most important dimension constructing family life in Poland. Actually this thesis is neither new nor original. The sociologist Stefan Nowak used the term 'sociological vacuum' to describe the reality of the 1970s in the People's Republic of Poland (Polska Rzeczypospolita Ludowa). In his view, in Poland in those days, there were only two areas around which social life evolved: 1) a sense of abstract national community and 2) a sphere of privacy, with the family as its core element. Between these two poles, there were no spontaneous social acts, nor any citizens' initiatives, social organisations, or associations. Another useful term to describe this phenomena is the concept of 'amoral familism' which indicates a very strong involvement in family life which, by concentrating too much on family issues, ignores value and personal commitments in areas outside family life, thus discouraging people from assuming more proactive positions towards public life, engagement with civil society, social capital, and community efforts to work towards common goals. I will use the results of my research project 'Family and parenting practices in traditional and postmodern families - reconstruction of daily routines'* to illustrate the thesis on the social isolation as still important dimension constructing family life in Poland.   More specifically, I will focus upon the three main 'indicators' of the social isolation which have been reconstructed on the basis of my research: 1) A deficit of confidence in social institutions - according to the respondents there are a few actors and social institutions around the family that could support it, help it and which could be trusted (only the grandparents and preschool have been mentioned) - [families are in the 'social desert']. 2) The influence of social institutions on the family is unnoticeable by respondents - according to the researched there are a few actors and social institutions around the family that have the really influence on the family life (for example: the politicians and the church have no influence in opinion of the most respondents - [families are 'invisible' to 'others']. ⌊SEP⌋This phenomenon could be also related to the lack or at least weakness of the social policy addressed to the families in Poland. 3) A high level of anxiety about the 'world outside the family' which is perceived as threatening - [the division: my-family = my safe world vs the danger area outside family]. The phenomena of social isolation is in contrast with the described by respondents a 'longing' for the community, and for community values (this is evident, for example, in the fact that for the child and the parent the worst features are: selfishness, egoism, lack of empathy etc.) as well as a 'longing' for community building practices (e.g. most of the respondents stressed how important is to spend time together, to eat together 'family meal' etc.). At the end of my presentation I will put into discussion some answers for the question on the causes of the social isolation phenomena. * A brief description of the applied methodology: (1) methods: the depth „family" interviews + ethnography observation + 'homework' done individually by respondents on the internet platform; (2) the research sample: 30 families (including: 6 single parent families), two waves of interviews: in December 2016 and February 2017 = 60 interviews, two localisations: Warsaw (capital, 1.7 million of inhabitants) and Skarżysko Kamienna (45 000 inhabitants), two social classes: middle class and worker class; (3) content analysis assisted by a computer program: atlas.it.

Ulrike Zartler, Raphaela Kogler & Marlies Zuccato-Doutlik: Children's concepts of divorce: a novel methodological approach

In the light of high divorce rates, children are often confronted with parental separation, be it in their own families or in those of relatives, friends or classmates. Research so far has put a focus on moderators and stressors that influence children's adaptation to their own parents' divorce, on related transitions in family structures and family lives. However, scholarly knowledge about children's concepts of parental divorce, custody regulations or legal issues in general is limited. Just as well, we know very little about how children's concepts of divorce are exchanged, negotiated and discussed in their social networks. In response to these research gaps, we present a study that aims at capturing children's concepts about parental divorce and their communications in peer groups. In this study with primary school children, aged 8 to 10, living in one urban and one rural Austrian region, we therefore asked the following questions: How do children define divorce and what do they know about it? Which implications does divorce have, from children's points of view, for family lives and family living? Which conceptions about legal regulations and consequences of divorce are inherent in children's accounts? Which ideas about parental divorce or separation are discussed in children's peer groups? One main challenge in answering these questions is to develop and apply adequate methodological approaches that allow children to articulate, share and discuss their thoughts on this sensitive issue. Moreover, as concepts are not easily retrievable, a useful methodological approach should not only capture individual opinions and thoughts, but should also be able to trace children's communication about divorce in their peer groups. In that matter, we developed and adopted a participative and innovative methodological approach that had initially been used for teaching and learning in education and that we adapted for use in sociological childhood research: Concept cartoons – illustrations showing everyday situations and different characters' viewpoints – provide the visual stimulus for creating narrations during a group discussion. This technique corresponds to constructivist principles and supports children's awareness of different perspectives. The study includes all classmates and focuses on children's concepts of divorce in general. The children are involved as co-researchers during the entire research process (development of concept cartoons, discussions in group settings, dissemination). Together with 76 children in four different school classes, we developed a series of concept cartoons in a participatory manner and discussed these visual prompts in class. In order to capture different ideas of children on various levels, the co-constructed illustrations are exchanged between the participating school classes, aiming at exploring children's perceptions and interpretations with unknown material. First results show that children's concepts of divorce are particularly differentiated and rich in detail in what regards ideas about post-divorce family life. Their conceptions of legal regulations adhere strictly to ideas of 'rules' and 'fairness', connected to the idea that custody and contact regulations should primarily prevent parents' sadness (due to reduced contact with their child). We conclude that concept cartoon discussions facilitate the exploration of sensitive topics and are suitable for participatory approaches in childhood and family research. The results inform social scientists as well as practitioners and policy stakeholders.

Manuela Schicka: Patterns of Conjugal Interactions as a Way of constructing Intimate Relationships

Forming a couple nowadays is more challenging than it has been several decades before. Until the middle of the last century relationships were often understood as a construct where roles and tasks were predefined. The main task of couples was creating and providing a family. Roles of men and women have been defined with the man as the breadwinner and the women as the responsible for the household and the family life. In contemporary societies, intimate relationships are less predefined; rather each couple forms his own relationship where role and tasks are negotiated during the common life course. This new definition of intimate relationships leaves more space for individuality, but creates also insecurity as each role and task is under definition. However, these processes have as consequence that intimate relationships in contemporary societies are characterised by a variety of ways how partners interact with each other but also with their environment and how relationships function in the way of their organisation. This presentation aims at highlighting the variety of conjugal interactions and functioning among couples living in Switzerland. It will be shown that there are several styles of conjugal interactions which differ from each other on their cohesion and regulation dimension. The cohesion dimension describes whether partners highlight the autonomy or the community in their relationship as well as the creation of boundaries with the external environment. The regulation dimension describes how the roles are differentiated among the partners. The presentation will also stress the fact that conjugal interactions stay relatively stable over time. However, the occurrence of certain life events, mainly life transitions, has consequences for the internal organisation of the conjugal life. Data comes from the Swiss longitudinal survey "Social Stratification, Cohesion and Conflict in Contemporary Families". Couples living in Switzerland have been interviewed by phone and they were asked to give information on their relationship. For the analyses, data from the first and third waves are used (1998/99 and 2011). The analyses are based on 721 couples who stayed together during the observation period. This allows to analyse the development of conjugal interactions. The results show that there exist several styles of conjugal interactions. Some couples stress out the community in their relationship, others stress their autonomy and individuality. In most couples there is a high differentiation of functional roles, meaning that domestic tasks are shared unequally. In contrast, decisional power is almost not differentiated between the partners. The styles of conjugal interactions persist over time. One additional style emerged marked by a transition on the cohesion dimension. However, analysing each dimension separately and how it evolves over time, shows that important life transitions lead to

	changes. The transition to first parenthood, for example, leads to a higher degree of cohesion and to an increase in the differentiation of functional roles. The transition to retirement in contrast, leads rather to a decrease in the differentiation of functional roles. The results of this study show that intimate relationships are constructed in different ways. However, patterns that are implemented rather do not change. Nevertheless, life events can lead to changes on single dimensions of conjugal interactions. This study gives therefore important insides in the way how intimate relationships are regulated in contemporary societies.
17.20-18.20	**KEYNOTE SESSION II (SN200) / Chair: Detlev Lück** **Ingrid Arnet Connidis: WHO COUNTS AS FAMILY? ASSESSING REALITIES OF LATER LIFE** This talk will address the multiple meanings of "who counts" as we make our way through the later stages of life. How do the actions and preferences of those who are in middle and old age answer the multi-layered question, who counts as family? And how can the multiple answers to this question inform personal and social understandings of who should be recognized as family later in life?
Wednesday 13.6.2018	
11.00-12.40	**Session 6a (SN200) / Chair: Vida Česnuitytė** UNDERSTANDING FAMILY TRAJECTORIES, DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND POLICY
	Detlev Lück & Martin Bujard: "Population Bomb", Two-Child-Norm and the Decline of Large Families. An Amendment to the Explanation of the Fertility Decline in the 1960s The fertility decline in European societies over the course of the last five decades, related to the Second Demographic Transition, has in some European countries come to an end. This includes Germany, for which we re-analyse the decline based on German micro census data, differentiated into parities. The parity-specific analyses reveal that the decline is linked to two changes in fertility behaviour: The number of women remaining childless strongly increases and the number of women having three or more births strongly decreases (while the parities one and two remain roughly stable). These two processes occur in the same period of time; however they evolve asynchronously, which suggests that they at least partly need to be explained in different ways. This challenges the theoretical explanations of the fertility decline which, as we argue, for the most part assume one coherent demographic phenomenon. Recent decomposition analyses (Bujard/Sulak 2016) reveal that, at least in Germany, the decrease of higher order births has a stronger effect on the decline of cohort fertility than the increase in childlessness. Furthermore, it is the process that starts the fertility decline in Germany around 1965, while the increase in childlessness becomes relevant later and, in East Germany, is only visible among the post-reunification cohorts. This also challenges theoretical explanations because, as we argue, most approaches (such as individualisation, changing gender roles, value change or opportunity costs) give plausible explanations particularly for emerging childlessness but not convincingly for the decrease of third births. The few explanations offered for the diminishing of large families, such as educational expansion and the postponement of family foundation to later ages, do not seem sufficient to understand the sudden drop in higher order births with a clear divide between two or fewer and three or more children. We therefore perceive the need for a complementary enhancement of theoretical explanations of the fertility decline, referring in particular to the decline in third births. The starting point for the explanation we suggest is the two-child-norm which has been identified repeatedly. In recent decades, the number children considered as ideal by Europeans is increasingly standardised around two (Sobotka/Beaujouan 2014). This, again, is remarkable from a theoretical point of view, since most theories would expect social norms to weaken, the individual freedom of choice to increase and the heterogeneity of family forms to grow accordingly. A "pluralisation of family forms" has been observed or assumed repeatedly – the decrease of large families and the strengthened norms regarding an appropriate family size, in that respect, come as a counter-trend. Yet, the emergence and strengthening of a two-child-norm in Europe and the intensified discrimination of large families may be an important part of the explanation why Europeans have stopped having more than two children in the 1960s. However, it calls for an explanation for the emergence of this two-child-norm. In search of this missing link in the theoretical explanation of the fertility decline, we turn to a combined quantitative and qualitative content analysis of newspapers form the 1950s and 1960s, in order to identify public debates that could have constructed a two-child-norm. We use archives of leading national newspapers in Germany (Die Zeit, Der Spiegel, FAZ, Bild) and the UK (The Daily Telegraph, The Times, The Guardian, The Observer). We start with a qualitative content analysis to answer which debates occur. The debate that we find to be, by far, most prevalent and relevant is the severe anxiety of overpopulation threatening the survival of mankind, referred to as the "demographic bomb" or the "population bomb". Leading intellectuals, journalists, scientists and political leaders warn that without a world-wide establishment of contraception and a decrease of fertility rates, the world population would outgrow the available resources of the planet within few decades. This debate is complemented by argumentations following a Max Weber rationale of modernisation, that in modern societies, people can be expected to rationally reflect the consequences of their behaviour, including their generative behaviour, and act accordingly in

a responsible and self-disciplined way. Accordingly, having three or more children (and contributing to the increasing world overpopulation) is associated with a lack of self-discipline, irresponsibility, and instinct-driven behaviour, characteristic for uneducated, immoral underclass people. We enhance the qualitative by quantitative content analyses, assessing the frequency of particular keywords over the course of time, showing that the debates mainly come up in the years before the start of fertility decline in Europe. This suggests that fear of overpopulation in the late 1950s and early 1960s has resulted in the social construction of a two-child-norm and an intensified discrimination of large families, which again can explain the decrease of higher order births and thereby a very relevant share of the fertility decline linked to the Second Demographic Transition.

Grazina Rapoliene & Lina Sumskaite: A Comparative Discourse Analysis of Childlessness in Lithuanian Media

The share of childless women is increasing in Lithuania. Childlessness is explained by scientists as one of the attributes of family transformation alongside increase in divorce rates, cohabitation and postponement of the first pregnancy. Childlessness has also been linked to the spread of individualistic values and egocentric society (Siegel, 2013). The shift of values from collective to individualistic ones is evident in the change of public discourse, as the study of most popular women's journals and newspapers from the periods of 1991-1996 and 2011-2016 shows (The scientific project Childlessness in Lithuania: socio-cultural changes and individual experiences in modern society, Lithuanian Research Council, contract No. S-MOD-17-3). The first period (1991-1996) is characterized by the dominance of the educational discourse: since sex was not publicly discussed in the Soviet Union, there was a gap in sexual education that magazines filled in publishing series of articles about sexual intercourse and contraception. The only way of presenting childless women was medical explanation of infertility causes. For fulfilling women's role in society a woman had to be married, raising children and fully employed. A separate segment – an annex of the newspaper Šeimininkė [Eng. A Housewife] – promoted moral Christian attitudes, hostility to the influence of the West (modern contraception was described as harmful to women's health, natural family planning was promoted instead, abortions started to be portrayed as child murder, not as mean of contraception as was common during soviet times). During the later period (2011-2016) the topics of voluntary childlessness and advantages of late motherhood emerged. Similarly to Western media (Graham & Rich, 2014, Hadfield et al., 2007, Giles et al., 2009), voluntary childlessness is mostly presented as first persons rational defences: explaining its causes as difficulties to combine career and family life, inappropriate partner or meeting a right partner too late (over 40s). The voice is given to famous women (actors, journalist etc.). Some of explanations refer to irrationality, such as lack of "mother instinct". However childless men are not involved in media discussions. As in Scandinavian newspapers, the absent childfree man is an indicator of a weaker link between masculinity and fatherhood in comparison with feminine identity fusion with maternity (Peterson, 2014). Infertility of men emerged as new topic in the later period magazines. Not only medical, but also psychological reasons of men and women infertility were also discussed. Contraception and abortions were discussed during both time periods analysed, as well as an image of an educated lonely woman, which evolved from advices on how to get married in the earlier period to the partial acceptance of single living in the later one. Since media both expresses and shapes public attitudes, one could state that childless couples are presenting a new form of family life in pronatalistic Lithuania.

Katarzyna Suwada: Does a family need to be based on traditional model? Hidden definitions of a family in the Polish family policy system

The Constitution of Poland states: "Marriage, being a union of a woman and a man, as well as family, motherhood and parenthood shall be placed under the protection and care of the Republic of Poland" (Art. 18). Additionally it guarantees every citizen equality before the law and the lack of discrimination in political, social and economic life for any reason (Art 32). The Constitutions does not define what family means, but behind legislations there is a hidden definition of family. Putting "marriage as a union of a woman and a man" next to "family" suggests that these two issues are connected to each other and for many politicians are indeed connected. These two mentioned articles seem to be contradicted in terms of non-heterosexual families, as well as cohabiting heterosexual couples. Besides in the Article 18 there seems to be a problem with fatherhood, which is not mentioned together with motherhood, what might suggest that fatherhood is not treated equally with motherhood. The aim of this paper is to analyse the reforms in the family policy system introduced since 2010s in Poland in terms of their hidden definitions of family and gendered parental roles. Since 2010 this time Polish family policy has undergone a series of reforms introduced by two different governments – the liberal-conservative government of Civic Platform (2007-2015) and the right-wing national-conservative government of Law and Justice (since 2015). These reforms included: an introduction of paternity leave, a 6-month parental leave, a programme extending institutional care for children under 3 years old, and finally, a programme 500+ in which every parent who has more than two children acquires a right to child allowance. All of these reforms tried to address the problems of extremely low fertility rates (around 1,2-1,35 since the beginning of 2000s) and ageing society. They do not define family in strict terms, because the social reality is too complicated and it is impossible to provide one strict definition without exclusions of the groups of people whose rights are guaranteed in the Constitutions. Yet even though there is a lack of such definitions in legal documents, the policy-makers designing laws seems to refer to the conservative definitions of family, as well as traditional parental

roles of women and men. Consequently, the Polish system concentrates on the traditional model of family with two heterosexual parents. Homosexual relationships are not recognised by the law, whereas single parents face multiple problems in relations with bureaucratic institutions (for example single mothers usually have to prove that they are actually single mothers when they apply for child benefits, whereas single fathers often deals with the problem of too low alimonies ordered by the court, since a mother, in a traditional model, is not obliged to economically provide for her children). Also in public speeches about new instruments policy-makers often refer to the traditional model of family, forgetting about other family arrangements, and some of them even tend to condemn single mothers as a threat to "normal" family. The paper is based on an analysis of legal documents, political programmes, politicians' declarations regarding the aims of particular reforms, as well as politicians' speeches made in the mass media. It is complemented by experiences of Polish parents gathered in the qualitative in-depth interviews (N=52) conducted in summer 2017. The interviews with parents concerned the issue of work-life balance and experiences connected with using different instruments of family policy. The sample was differentiated to grasp experiences of parents with different social and economic background, as well as family situation. The analysis of interviews shows that the contemporary system is designed to fit the needs of traditional families with two parents, in which a woman is expected to withdraw from the labour market for a few years in connection to parenthood, whereas the role of a father is mostly seen in terms of breadwinning. The needs of single parents are not fully addressed, especially in situations in which the second parent exist, but does not participate in parental obligations or use violence (physical, psychological, economic). The situation of non-heterosexual couples with children is totally ignored by the state.

Eric Widmer, Marlène Sapin & Ivan de Carlo: Family inclusiveness, demographic reserves, social class and cumulative dis/advantages

This research hypothesizes that the extent to which family definitions are inclusive or exclusive depend on a variety of resources that individuals accumulate throughout the years. The link existing between inclusiveness of family definitions and such resources is explored using a representative sample including respondents from age 18 to age 90 living in Switzerland. With such an age range, it was possible to investigate demographic reserves and economic resources as critically shaping family inclusiveness in relation with age. The results of the study, using Multidimensional Correspondence Analysis and Logistic Regressions show that inclusiveness of lay definitions of family depends to a large extent on such resources, and that inclusiveness plays a critical role in the cumulation of social dis/advantages.

Session 6b (SN203) / Chair: Rita Gouveia
YOUNG ADULTS

Julia Charlotte Bueschges & Isabelle Fischer: There is no place like the parents' home - Examining the influence of parental familialistic solidarity on cohabitation between young adults and their parents across Europe

The majority of young adults in modern societies leaves the parental home and establishes independent households between the ages of 20 and 30. However, the share of adult children co-residing with their parents is on the rise (Ogg and Renaut, 2006; Kaplan, 2012). The present article aims at investigating the reasons for young adults to stay with their parents during a life phase that is commonly characterized by independence. More specifically, the parental recognition of young adults' needs relating to residency is examined and several types of familial support are distinguished. Exploring which factors might compel young adults to co-reside with their parents promises to shed light on relevant need patterns which are not met by social policies. The lion's share of previous studies either focuses on the age of home-leaving of young adults, cohabitation resulting from care dependencies of frail parents, or examines the phenomenon as a whole across all phases of life. However, it is crucial to gather information on the phenomenon occurring in the more independent stages of life – somewhere in between the natural life phases of adolescence and aging. Moreover, most of the research done in this field does not include international comparisons and thus cannot account for cultural, economic and welfare-state-specific variations. Yet, intergenerational cohabitation is indirectly influenced by those factors. Taking into account these national contextual frameworks within which intergenerational ties evolve is therefore of vast importance. The present article aims at addressing these research gaps. Additionally, as straight forward as the topic may seem, the moderate explanatory power of numerous papers bears witness to its covert complexity (Kaplan, 2012). Life course scholar Szydlik is one the few researchers who contributed to the development of a theoretical basis, considering intergenerational cohabitation a form of functional family solidarity (Isengard & Szydlik, 2012). Szydlik's model of intergenerational solidarity can be used to explain a variety of behavioral patterns associated with family solidarity while taking into account opportunity and need structures of parents as well as their children, family structures and cultural-contextual structures (Szydlik, 2008). Nevertheless, Szydlik's model, to a large extent, neglects the influence of other forms of solidarity on intergenerational co-residence. That is a problem because normative familialistic values play an important role with regard to one's motivation to provide this kind of support. This accumulation of values, amongst others, entails societal expectations regarding the provision of solidarity when needed (see e.g. Goerres and Tepe, 2010). Due to this interconnectedness of different types of solidarity, focusing on one type does not convey the whole picture. In this article, Szydlik's model of intergenerational solidarity is revised and extended to include the

effect of various forms of family solidarity. Two revisions are made. First, instead of two general factors that influence residential decision-making processes, three factors are determined: "needs", "opportunities", and "social motivation". Second, the existing differentiation between the micro-, meso-, and macro-level in Szydlik's model is removed. More precisely, by attributing the social standing of the young adults and their parents as well as the societal context to the three analytical dimensions, the meso-level is dissolved. Based on these considerations, hypotheses are deduced. The research question calls for – and the data set allows for – the calculation of multi-level models. In this paper, three levels are taken into consideration: adult children, their parental household, and the parents' country of residence. Based on the data of the Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement (SHARE), theory-driven, quantitative and cross-national analyses including twelve European countries are conducted. The integration of indicators relating to family solidarity proves to be a valuable extension to previously existing causal influence factors. It can be maintained that it is mainly young adults' needs that determine intergenerational cohabitation. However, the findings suggest that parental familialistic values also play a vital role in the recognition of their adult child's needs. The results unveil an interesting set of influential explanatory factors which can be built on in future research.

Aino Luotonen: Doing friendship in daily practices: Redoing boundaries of friendship and family

My study focuses on youngish Finnish adults' friendship relations and on the ways in which they are formed, maintained or possibly dissolved. It explores how couples are 'doing friendship' during a specific life stage and in a specific family context: the first years of opposite-sex marriage, and in most cases as parents of young children. In my presentation I focus on intimate, emotionally close friendship ties that people consider significant in their lived lives. Friendship relations can be a source of intimacy, support and care (Roseneil & Budgeon 2004) that have traditionally been considered characteristics of family relations, and, in the context of same-sex relations, friends have been found to form a 'chosen family' (Weeks et al. 2001). In the context of opposite-sex married couples, personal experience of intimacy and belonging can be formed with different logics that combine biological kinship, shared everyday lives, mutual support and care, and personal choice, and friends can be considered as family (Luotonen & Castrén forthcoming). Spencer and Pahl (2006) suggest a suffusion of characteristics of given ties (e.g. family or kin, such as a sister) and chosen ties (e.g. friends). For an individual, a friend can become part of the family, and a relation with a family member can be characterized with qualities usually attached to friendship. The boundary between given and chosen ties – thus between family and friends, for example – is often blurred. (Spencer & Pahl 2006.) The fuzziness of the boundaries of categories of family, kinship and friendship is connected to both meanings attached to them and the practices in which relations are 'being done' (see Morgan 2011). In my study I ask: How is friendship 'being done' in daily practices? How are these practices, and in consequence, friendship relations, connected to time and place? What is (a subjective understanding of) friendship, in relation to family or kinship? The study is a qualitative follow-up study combining qualitative interview data and questionnaire data on the same research participants. The primary data consists of 34 individual research interviews with interviewees aged 26–41, living in Helsinki metropolitan area, Finland. The interviewees include 16 men, 16 women and 2 two non-binary, forming 16 married couples and one divorced couple. All the interviewees had participated in an interview concerning social bonds at the time of getting married, carried out several years earlier. An additional data consists of questionnaires systematically mapping the larger social network of the same interviewees, which allows to find out the configuration of relations in which friendship relations are a part of (see Castrén & Ketokivi 2015; Widmer et al. 2008). Also, interview and questionnaire data collected several years earlier provide an opportunity to analyse the evolvement of friendship relations over time. Preliminary results demonstrate that friendship relations can be deeply rooted in an individual's everyday life through multiple practices, e.g. dyadic face-to-face interaction, couple sociability and families getting together. At the same time, friendship relations that are based on scarce dyadic contact, for example, sometimes tend to become more fragile or distant in consequence of changes in the life course such as starting a family. The analysis shows that friends become intimate and emotionally close relations through various logics, one being close to what Weber (2013; Déchaux 2008) calls practical kinship; (experienced) kinship that is formed in everyday life through individual choice, shared practices and resources. According the analysis, the categories of friendship and family are both separate and at the same time the boundaries can be blurred, especially between friendship and siblingship.
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Gaëlle Aeby & Sue Heath: Returning to the parental home after a break-up? Young Adults renegotiating family relationships and boundaries in their housing pathways

This paper focuses on the housing pathways of young adults following the breakdown of a first intimate relationship based on cohabitation with a partner. It focuses in particular on the adoption of returns to the parental home as a post-separation housing strategy which, despite its initial lack of appeal following a period of independent cohabitation, may provide short- and medium term back-up solutions for young adults who find themselves single again. We reflect on how the possibility of returning to the parental home may be seen as a step backwards in their housing pathway, yet may also turn into an opportunity to receive support and to consolidate family relationships. It also questions traditional family boundaries related to expected housing transitions through the life course, and how family relationships are negotiated in adulthood. This paper draws on qualitative data from interviews with 29 young childless adults who had all experienced the breakdown of a cohabiting relationship in England. Although it remains a relatively rare occurrence, the incidence of returning to the parental home after having first departed has increased in recent years for certain groups, notably young women in their early twenties (Stone et al., 2014). This is particularly the case for students on first graduating (Roberts et al., 2016), thus typifying the longstanding observation that students who move away to study tend to temporarily live away from rather than permanently leave the parental home. However, returning home is also triggered by other critical life events such as a period of unemployment or relationship breakdown, with childless men and women equally affected by the latter (Stone et al., 2014). Lewis et al. (2016) note, though, that returns to the parental home are generally viewed with a high level of ambivalence by both young adults and their parents, and most hope to move out again at the earliest opportunity. Indeed, young adults are expected to form their own families (through partnering and then having children) in an independent household. Living with parents is normatively restricted to childhood and early adulthood before entering the employment market. In that context, intimate relationship breakdowns are critical life events which may lead to new housing arrangements, and the re-evaluation of existing relationships and family formation plans. Among our 29 participants, eleven had prior experience of returning to the parental home, in all but two cases after first graduating, for periods ranging from a few months to five years. Eight participants returned to the parental home in the immediate aftermath of their relationship breakdown. Returning to the parental home was sometimes seen as a temporary healing retreat, especially for those who had experienced particularly traumatic break-ups. In that situation, the parental home was seen as a place of sanctuary and protection. It also proved to be an opportunity to renegotiate the parent-child relationship. Nevertheless, it also gives rise to intergenerational ambivalences (Lewis et al., 2016), which explains why most participants preferred avoiding this solution. In addition, this strategy of return had the potential to take them off track in terms of both their housing and employment trajectories, which explained that shared housing was a largely preferred solution in the mid-term. Several participants spoke of how a perceived loss of freedom meant that they had declined their parents' offers of temporary accommodation, often using geographical distance as the pretext not to have to return. Nonetheless, even for the majority who chose not to return, parents were nonetheless frequently very important facilitators of post-breakdown emotional recovery and ongoing residential independence. During the relationship breakdown, participants reported being able to count on the help, either for advice, emotional support or practical matters, of their family of origin, even when their parents were separated. It highlights the persistent importance of parents not only to assist the transition to adulthood, but also to buffer the consequences of critical life events leading to temporary vulnerability. It also shows that traditional family boundaries related to expected housing transitions through the life course are challenged by critical life events. References Lewis, J., West, A., Roberts, J., and Noden, P. (2016). The experience of co-residence: young adults returning to the parental home after graduation in England. Families, Relationships and Societies, 5(2), pp. 247–262. Roberts, J., Noden, P., West, A and Lewis, J. (2016). Living with the parents: the purpose of young graduates return to the parental home in England, Journal of Youth Studies, 19(3), pp. 319-337. Stone, J., A. Berrington, and J. Falkingham (2014). Gender, turning points, and boomerangs: Returning home in young adulthood in Great Britain. Demography, 51(1), pp. 257–276.